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The Journal of the Society for  
Education in Film and Television  
Spring 1971

# STRUCTURALISM

Structuralism in Film Criticism  
TV Studies  
Sociology and the Cinema  
The Film Journals  
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# Editorial

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With this issue there are significant changes in *Screen* — a new editorial board, a new format and a different kind of content. The changes are the result primarily of a reassessment of the relation of film to education and therefore of the position and function of *Screen*.

The policy of *Screen* — set out in this editorial and initiated in practice by this issue — is less a sharp break with the past than a reconsideration of the methods and assumptions which informed that past. The operation of self-reflection and self-criticism and the very fact of a *Screen* editorial defining a policy and making a demand for theory and practice related to it in themselves represent a significant departure.

*Screen* is in a special position. It is an independent journal of an independent Society concerned with film, television *and* education, but working within the British Film Institute. *Screen* has more stability than most film journals being rooted in a movement while it differs from all other film journals in its explicit commitment to education. This commitment frees *Screen* from the practical 'reviewing' kind of criticism engaged in by other journals, while it imposes on *Screen* an analysis of the relation between film and education which gives to *Screen* a wider field of operation than these journals. And the relative financial security of *Screen* allows it to pursue this relation in some depth.

This opportunity must be seized by *Screen* to develop theories of film study, to analyse theories of education as these affect film study and by these operations help to define methods and techniques in both film study and film education.

This emphasis in *Screen* on theory is crucial. Educational and critical practice has for too long remained unconscious and unaware of itself.

The development and criticism of theoretical ideas is required to make meaningful, to provide a context for, what has in the past remained at the level of anecdotal accounts of teaching experience. *Screen* will aim to go beyond subjective taste-ridden criticism and try to develop more systematic approaches over a wider field. Criticism is but one element in the study of the cinema which also involves locating film in a specific system of production and consumption and of seeing it in relation to the other arts and to the culture which it reflects and reflects upon. Above all film must be studied as a new medium, a product of this century and of the machine, and which as a new medium and a new mode of expression challenges traditional notions of art and criticism and the system of education which still in part is tied to these notions.

*Screen* is committed to the development of theoretical ideas and more systematic methods of study, but has no single all-embracing theory. On specific issues and approaches members of the editorial board differ and these differences will find expression in the pages of the journal to make of *Screen* a forum for controversy, self-criticism and debate in which readers are asked to participate.

The work of *Screen* will be pursued beyond and outside the pages of the journal as well as within those pages. In *Screen* will be not only the theoretical analyses promised but also direct practical information on film extracts, duplicated materials, film conferences, meetings, seminars, books, study units (and notes and criticism of these). Outside *Screen* but directly linked to it and to its editorial board will be a number of seminars meeting on a regular basis (the editorial board itself functions as a seminar) to investigate various problems of film theory and certain areas of film expression. Some of these seminars already function — Bazin and American Realism, the Soviet Cinema, Women and the Cinema, Film in Art Education. The work of these seminars will be reflected in the pages of *Screen*. And also outside *Screen*, but again linked to it, will be the activities of the Society whose journal it is — regional one-day schools, viewing sessions, the summer school, the annual general conference. All of these activities of *Screen* and of the Society constitute the work of *Screen*, work both practical and theoretical mutually informing one another in order to help develop what does not yet exist — a theory of cinema as the context for the teaching of film.

**The Editorial Board**

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The success of *The Craft of Film*, first published in April 1970 and now used as a standard text book by virtually all film-making courses in Britain, is to be followed by a series of publications using a similar method of presentation. The first two titles, *Television* and *Audio Visual Media*, are now in preparation and will be available later this year. These, too, will be designed not only to present a basic stock of information, but to offer a unique service whereby the book can never be out of date.

Because *The Craft of Film UpDating Service* has proved to be intrinsic to the concept of the book, one year's subscription has been included in the price of the book. This service is now to be administered by a panel of leading figures in film-making and teaching, who will advise on and select the material to be included in the bi-monthly packets of new and revised pages.

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There are in addition a number of technical papers and booklets on film, television and associated arts and techniques, details of which are available by writing to the publishers.

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# Chairman's Foreword

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The Society for Education in Film and Television is a changing organization. From this issue *Screen* is converted from a bi-monthly to a quarterly publication. The price of a single copy has been increased but the annual subscription rate has been reduced.

The more significant changes in the journal and in the Society reflect developments in education generally. The Society must adapt itself to these or lose its claim to being a professional organization of teachers. Its members by virtue of their interest in teaching film are committed to change in education. The results of the reorganization of secondary education have been usually beneficial to the film teaching movement and resulted in more flexible teaching programmes and the revaluation of courses offered at CSE level and below. In fact one of the consequences of reorganization has been a radical rethinking of the curriculum generally and there can be little doubt that 'curriculum development' will present teachers with as many challenges as 'reorganization'.

This imposes on all of us in screen education an obligation to engage in a similar rethinking of our own work. For *Screen* this means going beyond the simple unreflective reporting of classroom practice and attempting an analysis of aims and methods in teaching film and television. What are we trying to achieve? What pedagogic principles lie behind our practice? What is the essential discipline and content of our subject? It is in response to questions like these that educational theory and practice must go hand in hand with criticism. For our teaching must be based on an informed attitude towards the films which form the 'texts' in our course. In ensuing issues therefore *Screen* will endeavour to explore both the curricular justification for the study of film and television in schools and colleges and developments in film criticism. To do the latter effectively it must be concerned not merely with the current popular successes in cinema or film society but more particularly with key films in the development of critical ideas and,



course, with those ideas themselves. In education, *Screen* must concern itself with curriculum theory in related subjects as well as in screen education and with the implications of developments in teacher training and the universities as well as the schools. In this way the journal may hope to inform and influence those in the local and national institutions who help to shape the curriculum. The humblest effort in film teaching depends ultimately for survival on the attitude and financial backing of those with executive power in education.

We recognize, however, that *Screen* has also an important role to play in the reporting of news which affects film booking, new releases, new equipment, etc. We hope that those of you who felt these vital matters of information have been neglected recently will find them conveniently grouped in the 'new' journal.

There have been changes too in the Society. Terry Bolas has taken up a new post at Edgeware School. The Society owes him a great debt for his patient and painstaking work as the Society's Secretary and joint Editor of *Screen*. The general committee of the Society felt that in the new appointment the importance of editorship of the journal should be reflected by incorporating these responsibilities with those of the new Secretary. We welcome Sam Rohdie, who was previously lecturer in film at the Sheffield Polytechnic, as the new General Secretary of the Society and Editor of *Screen* and also his assistant Diana Matias. Chris Bott who has been our invaluable Treasurer for several years has resigned because of pressure of other commitments. We are most grateful for his scrupulous work on behalf of the Society. Ed Buscombe who teaches at Acton Technical College has taken over this responsibility. Finally, following my move from Reading to Leeds from where it is difficult to fulfil the duties of Chairman efficiently, I am resigning from the post. Until the Society's AGM in May, Jim Cook, who teaches at JFS Comprehensive School, London, is acting Chairman.

The Society can succeed only as far as its members support it. We are fortunate in having a close working relationship with the British Film Institute's Education Department. This relationship brings many advantages. We want to put these and all the resources of the Society at the disposal of its members. The membership should shape the policy of the Society. Do this by reading the journal, responding to its challenges and above all by contributing to its pages.

**Roger Watkins**

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# Education and Criticism

Notes on work to be done

Sam Rohdie

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## I

*Screen* has made a demand for theory, for an aesthetics of film. It has promised to help develop one. What is the need? Why now? Is it merely voluntarist (let's have theory)? Or intellectualist (ideas are always important)? What is the present state of film production and thinking on film to necessitate such a demand? And what is the present state of education — how is film taught? Where would film theory insert itself? Is the practice of film theory, teaching of film? What is the relation of education to criticism?

This essay will not be a little self-contained complete piece, bit following on bit, but a sketching of problems to determine tasks of work.

## II

Early in the history of the cinema some thought it a revolutionary mode of expression. It was not simply a new art, but one which promised to supersede the old arts of painting, sculpture, theatre. And with that supersession a destruction of older notions of art, of culture, of aesthetics. Alexander Dovzhenko . . .

Before I began to work in films in 1926, I had been a painter. I was not yet a master of my craft, but felt fairly confident that in another ten or twelve years I might be. At that time, however, the leftist papers and periodicals carried articles on the uselessness of painting and its expected demise as an art, and these led me to reflect on my chosen profession.

In June of 1926, after a sleepless night of examining my accomplishments up till that time, I left my Kharkov apartment and my painting materials behind, took my stick and suitcase . . . and started for Odessa, where I joined a cinema studio. I stood on the shore of the Black Sea like a naked man, thirty-two years old, starting life from the beginning again. The cinema, I thought, was the one art which was fresh and new, with enormous creative potentialities and opportunities. I knew little about it — indeed, I very rarely saw films. I may have been mistaken about painting, but I was quite right about the part that film would play in our Soviet life.

Or, El Lissitzky . . .

The innovation of easel painting made great works of art possible, but it has now lost its power. The cinema and the illustrated weekly have succeeded it. We rejoice in the new means which technique has put into our hands.

Walter Benjamin equally rejoiced in the new machine technology. To him, film, produced by the machine and producing by means of the machine, posed the possibility of a revolutionary critique of traditional concepts of art, hence of tradition and culture itself.

. . . the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. . . . (The film's) social significance, particularly in its most positive form, is inconceivable without its destructive, cathartic aspect, that is, the liquidation of the traditional value of the cultural heritage. . . .

Earlier much futile thought had been devoted to the question of whether photography is an art. The primary question — whether the very invention of photography had not transformed the entire nature of art — was not raised. Soon the film theoreticians asked the same ill-considered question with regard to the film. But the difficulties which photography caused traditional aesthetics were mere child's play as compared to those raised by the film. . . .

So long as the movie-makers' capital sets the fashion, as a rule no other revolutionary merit can be accredited to today's film than the promotion of a revolutionary criticism of traditional concepts of art.

What has in fact occurred? Neither film in its practice, nor film criticism have realized any of these expressed revolutionary hopes. (Or, has the revolution happened and no one noticed?) Both film and its critique are easy modes of consumption. The 'fine' arts have not succumbed to machine pressure. The cultural heritage is intact, indeed, film is placed clearly within it, and the critical terms addressed to film are equally addressed to the other arts (though usually with considerably more sophistication and yield). What indeed has gone wrong?

### III

What has happened in criticism is at least partially clear. Everywhere the *auteur* theory is established — endless tomes on this or that director, his world view, stylistic peculiarities, undoubted greatness, individual mastery. The best, the select, sit in state, enthroned on Mt Olympus, a theological, near transcendent classical pantheon of creators.

*Auteurs* are out of time. The theory which makes them sacred makes no inroad on vulgar history, has no concepts for the social or the collective, or the national.

The primary act of *auteur* criticism is one of dissociation — the *auteur* out of time and history and society is also freed from any productive process, be it in Los Angeles or Paris. The system in which a director works is something to extricate him critically from, to be rejected as mere 'noise', an unfortunate intrusion on the individual creative artist. If a few, the better critics, ask how a director stands *to* relations of

production, none ask how the director stands *within* these. It is assumed (or seems to be) that for purposes of criticism he is always *outside*.

*Auteur* theory had an important, even necessary role post-war as part of a polemic for mass culture. It discovered artistry where before there was only industry, system, but its enthusiasm took hold of it and overtook it resulting in an extreme romantic aesthetic of individual creativity. This aesthetic has dominated the field of film criticism with only slight modification and needs to be explained as the extraordinary cultural phenomenon it is. (The mass culture argument is not sufficient explanation.)

Work now must be devoted to the *auteur* theory, on the *auteur* theory, and not the *auteur* theory used as a means to do work on film. And that work must not be one of refining *auteur* concepts, but rather of explaining them. How did they come about? Where? When? At what cultural juncture? At what point in the practice of film criticism and in the practice of film-making? Why is *auteur* criticism so 'aura'-orientated, concerned with sacred artistic values? Rather than challenging ideas derived from the 'fine' arts, why has it succumbed to these? Why has it ignored the social, the technical relations of film production? What is the ideology behind *auteur* theory? What culture, what society, what system of cultural and social (hence educational) domination does it presuppose and is implicit within it?

The question earlier posed — 'what indeed has gone wrong?' — in part may find its answer by work on the *auteur* theory, the intellectual justification, the rationale for non-revolution, non-destruction and non-confrontation of the established culture.

#### IV

Individual creativity in the cinema is undeniable. To deny *auteur* criticism is not to deny that fact, nor to devalue the importance of that fact. But it is to add ignored dimensions — the social, the cultural, the technical, the historic. The problem is to integrate these dimensions into a theory and aesthetic of cinema (without allowing film to be absorbed by these into sociology, anthropology, linguistics, literary criticism, art history — the established academic disciplines).

If, indeed, film is a new kind of object, requiring its own particular theory, a new discipline with specific methods and techniques, would such a discipline not be challenge to existing theory, to established aesthetics? The revolution which Benjamin believed he saw?

#### V

What has happened, is happening in film? *Auteur* criticism culturally is not an isolated phenomenon. Since its appearance (but not necessarily

due to that appearance) an extraordinary emphasis has been placed within film-making on individual creativity and expression, on formal structure rather more than on social communicability and comprehension. Whether it is mainstream, underground, or somewhere-in-between cinema continuous narrative structures have been broken, made more elliptical, surface values have come to the fore, an older previous naturalist convention has been thrown over.

Films are increasingly more difficult to comprehend. Emphasis is less on presenting some sort of reality than in presenting perspectives on reality and on modes of perceiving. Film has become more personal, more private, more subjective. Cults have formed, handbooks of de-coding, deciphering have been written.

What is it all about? A step forward towards 'art' (as some of the *avant-garde* would have us believe), or a step to the rear? Is it an absorption of film by a cultural tradition which regards art as sacred, ritualized, unique, personal and for the few? Where does *auteur* criticism stand in relation to present film production? It expresses a similar ethic of individual artistry, yet buries itself in an archaeology of the past or the not so present — Ford, Hitchcock, Hawks, Mann — and seems without terms or understanding for new movies, new directors (with distorting and often disastrous effects on film education).

What has happened to film to make it something more esoteric, 'artistic', more a thing made by a director, present and self-conscious in the movie, less popular, less social? Is this the revolution in art, in film, in any terms? What kind of a move culturally and artistically is it — something simply bound up with the economics of film production and the individualization of productive means (the underground, producer-directors, increasing cheapness of entry, yet higher production costs, shortage of corporate capital, reduction of corporate investment)? What is the relation between such moves in capital and artistic ones? When, where, how did it happen?

The replacement of one mode of artistic expression, a set of formal and social-ideological attributes for another, with an attendant shift in technical and economic modes of production, is a crucial and important area of study — seemingly a necessary part of work towards film theory.

## VI

The practical work of *Screen* is education. It is not primarily a journal for professional intellectuals, film critics, cinephiles, but for practising teachers. For it to be intellectualist would not only be sterile in itself, but it would not serve its supposed educational practice.

The practice and ideology of education both deserve critical scrutiny,

for it seems to me (and this is not an editorial but a personal statement) that *Screen* would be guilty of dereliction of its role if content merely to 'enlighten' teachers, suggest curriculum and swap experience. The whole area of educational experience — the context in which teachers operate — needs be questioned.

The ethos, for example, of art and design schools, where 'art' is still considered precious, individual, made on an artisanal base of production, where film is consigned to liberal studies and carefully excluded from aesthetics and art history, and where film-making is about personal creativity, film poems, little celluloid canvases in the manner of the underground. Can film studies be usefully taught or developed in this atmosphere? Must the assumptions about art in these schools, and the schools themselves be first confronted, scandalized, even attacked?

This essay has been concerned most with questions (the answers are not available) and with defining things to be done. The biggest set of questions (and perhaps the least answerable because given so little thought) relate to education — its organization, assumptions, modes of domination, relation to politics, to social structure. Questions about these problems, how do they relate to questions asked of film and film criticism?

Education serves as a mode of cultural consumption and of social domination. Film and film criticism exist in a related area. They are structured together and the precise nature of that structure, how formed and how developing must be examined. Specifically, where does film education take place? Where is it allowed? How did this happen? What were the rationales? What in fact are the existing relations between criticism and teaching? How have these developed? How changed? Is there a kind of film criticism which cannot be taught unless teaching and education are themselves altered?

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# Sociology and the Cinema

Terry Lovell

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Sociology I take to be systematic and intersubjectively verifiable knowledge of social phenomena — societies, social relations, institutional structures, role-complexes, etc. Insofar as the cinema is a social phenomenon, it is amenable to sociological analysis.

There is some difficulty of reference between 'sociology of cinema' and 'sociology of film'. That this distinction is possible or necessary is in part an accident of language. In other cases, no distinction is made between the activity and the product. 'Science' refers both to the practice of scientists and to scientific knowledge. 'Art' has a similar dual connotation. 'Sociology of art' and 'sociology of science' may concentrate on either aspect: 'sociology of knowledge' in its traditional form, relates the *product* to social phenomena; modern sociology of science tends to concentrate on the *activity*, on what has been conceptualized as 'the social system of science'.

Film constitutes what Talcott Parsons<sup>1</sup> has termed an 'expressive symbol system'. That is to say, it is a symbol system in which the expressive orientation is dominant. However just as an emotion must have an object, so an expressive orientation is an orientation towards *something*. Therefore expressive symbol systems must also have cognitive and evaluative references. They distinguish and relate, and appraise the objects which they cathect. Film as an expressive symbol system includes orientations towards

1. itself;
2. states of affairs in the world (realism);
3. possible states of affairs, both desired and feared (fantasy).

The logical possibilities of relating cinema and sociology are wide. Film/cinema may be related either to sociological *knowledge* or to social



*phenomena*. These are relationships of a different order. Both are of some importance. If we take the first relationship, it is obvious that between the two types of symbol system, there is a possibility of an infinite regression, since each may be object for the other *ad infinitum*. I know of no film which takes sociology as its subject. Alison Lurie, however, has written just such a novel,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt the cinema will come round to it in time. Secondly, films may, and possibly must, express ideas about, and attitudes towards, the social world, and these may be compared and contrasted with sociological knowledge. It is a truism that many sociological insights have been achieved by creative artists, and one part of 'sociology of film' might be to examine films for such insights. When sociologists analyse single films, it is often from this point of view. An example is Robertson's analysis of Antonioni's trilogy.<sup>3</sup>

If the relation in question is between social phenomena and the cinema/film, then that relation may be conceived as either conceptual or causal, or both. In either case, this type of sociology of film is macro-sociological, in that it looks for relations between the film/cinema and the wider social system within which it occurs. Reflection theories of the cinema see the world which the cinema creates as a mirror, possibly a distorting one, of the real world. This relation is conceptual rather than causal. However, reflection is clearly only a limiting case of the possible types of conceptual relations. To Claude Lévi-Strauss must go the credit for developing an awareness of the breadth and range of possibilities inherent in the situation.<sup>4</sup> For on the model of his work on myth and social structure, we may proceed by breaking down the world of film and the social world into its elements, and working out the logical possibilities of variation and relation. For it is his thesis that for any 'collective representation' some operation may be discovered whereby it may be seen as a transformation of the social order. The range of possible operations is very large, including inversion. This perspective leads to a move away from the simple reflection thesis, to a search for the actual and possible relations between film and society. A descriptive morphology of this kind is an essential preliminary to any type of sociology of film.

I do not know of any study which postulates a direct causal relationship between film and social phenomena in which *meaning* or at least *convention* is not an intervening variable. V. Kavolis has made this attempt in the case of styles of painting, in a series of articles.<sup>5</sup> The difficulty of such a venture is the problem of providing a plausible linking mechanism between the characteristic of the work of art, eg its style, and the alleged social determinant. For Kavolis, the linking mechanism is psychological. On the whole this approach does not seem too promising, not least because of the philosophical difficulties which it raises.

Most of the studies which postulate a causal nexus between film and social phenomena, operate with the concept of *influence*, a para-causal concept. But the plausibility of the alleged influence is contingent on perception of *meaning*. The model in its simplest form alleges a modelling of behaviour, for instance, on film experience. But this presupposes an interpretation of the film, and an extrapolation, as it were, from the film of its relevance for real-life situations. The link between film and subsequent behaviour is therefore both conceptual and causal. The conceptual relations limit the possibly causal influences. 'Effects' studies which proliferated in the 'twenties and 'thirties, culminating in the Payne Fund Studies,<sup>6</sup> are of this type. Social Control theories of film are also of this kind.

### **sociology and aesthetics**

Since in every case except that of Kavolis, an interpretation of the films in question is logically prior to any question of influence, the dependence of sociology on film theory (which I take to be a branch of aesthetics) is evident. For the task of developing tools and methods of interpretation and analysis of films belongs in the first instance to film theory. However the units of analysis traditionally utilized by film theorists may not be appropriate to the sociologists' needs. Commissions may be as significant as the dominant themes. For example, on an admittedly cursory reflection, the achievement motif which commentators have often taken as the defining characteristic of American culture, appears in curious forms on the screen. The proverbial 'rags to riches' theme is rare; a meteoric rise often signals an equally dramatic and inevitable fall (gangster genre). In the case of women, social climbing through marriage is typically denigrated. (Walsh: *The Tall Men*.) *Citizen Kane* is perhaps the paradigm case, yet it stands alone in placing this old theme in its classical setting. There seems to be a curious reticence in the screen handling the theme of social mobility, in the so-called 'land of opportunity', and as often as not, its dysfunctions rather than its benefits are stressed ('It's lonely at the top!').

Taken as a whole, the preoccupation of the cinema with interpersonal relations, especially those of courtship and love, surely requires some explanation.

I have slipped almost inevitably into the assumption that thematic analysis will be the appropriate tool for sociology. However, I take it that in fact what is aesthetically significant is not the themes as such, but the *patterning* of themes, which depends on relationships between them. Other types of patterning are also presumably aesthetically significant, for example the formal structure of films. Sociology of film is logically dependent on aesthetics if it is to be sociology of film, in its primary

aesthetic aspects, since it is film aesthetics and not sociology which defines the aesthetic response. The task of analysis of the aesthetic significance of film is necessary if sociology of film is to be anything other than peripheral. The poverty of sociology of film merely reflects the inadequacies of film theory.

Despite this, sociology of film has a degree of independence also, in so far as it is interested in tracing *influences* as well as isomorphisms between patterns in films, and the patterning of the social order. For the sociologist, interest will be in the films under that description under which they were influential, rather than the more specialist interpretation. Film theory is not necessarily restricted to an account of the audience response. Like linguistics and like philosophy of science, it has an ineliminable normative component as well as a descriptive one. The film theorist may, over time, change the audience perception of film. Sociologists may create more sophisticated audiences. But at any given point of time, the sociologically relevant description is unlikely to overlap entirely with that of the specialist film-theorist. This point may be illustrated by reference to Max Weber's 'Protestant Ethic' thesis.<sup>7</sup> He has often been taken to task for the fact that his interpretations of the consequences of Calvinism were not the *logical* consequences of that doctrine, taken literally, but were based on popularizations, on sermons and tracts, analysed in order to extract their probable psychological consequences for the typical believer.<sup>8</sup> Theologians would undoubtedly object to some of these interpretations, with as much and as little justification as the film theorists objection to the interpretation offered by sociologists. To repeat, in so far as the sociologist is interested in *influence*, he has a degree of autonomy from the film theorist: yet only a small degree, since that influence is mediated by *meaning* (in the widest sense of that term). And clearly the more subtle the sociologist's understanding of the films, the more aware will he be of the range of possibilities for the influence of films.

### micro-sociology of film/cinema

If studies which attempt to relate film to the wider social context, in whatever manner, are macro-sociological, then studies which concentrate on the internal relations and development of film/cinema from a sociological point of view, may be termed micro-sociological. There are two main traditions here. The first is exemplified by Ian Jarvie's recent book,<sup>9</sup> in those parts where he describes the institutional structure of the cinema, and uses his method of *situational logic* to trace out the implications of various role-positions within that structure. The second centres on the concept of *movement*, and tries to account for either structural or cultural changes, or both. Huaco's study<sup>10</sup> is an example of this approach. The

first is particularly appropriate where a given art form has a determinate and differentiated organizational structure; in short, to the extent that it is institutionalized. Of all the arts, traditional and popular, film seems to fit these conditions most nearly. It is the social art *par excellence*, and is a fit subject for this kind of institutional/structural analysis, on the model perhaps of sociology of science.

### **film movements**

The concept of *movement* is taken from the socio-political universe of discourse. It is related to other concepts, such as *revolution*, and *change*. It might be useful to look at these in their original context, to see whether sociological accounts of such phenomena may be borrowed, and applied in this area.

A socio-political movement is either aimed at preventing, or inducing social change. 'Movement' is an intentional concept, implying collective action towards some conscious goal. A. F. C. Wallace's<sup>11</sup> definition of 'revitalization movement' is pertinent: 'a deliberate and self-conscious attempt to provide a more satisfying culture'.

By contrast, 'revolution' stresses achievement rather than intentionality. A cluster of changes in the social structure can only be characterized as a revolution after the event. There are, strictly speaking, no failed revolutions, although there are many failed movements. A revolution may only be said to have failed in terms of some analysis of the revolutionary potential of some situation, which was not exploited. It is rarely the case that revolutionary change coincided with the aims and interests of any single social movement. Where this is so, it is simply a limiting case, rather than the norm. A revolution often, perhaps usually, is the outcome of many movements which may be heterogeneous and even opposed in their aims and interests. The French Revolution, the paradigm case for all theorists of revolution, is a case in point.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it is not merely an umbrella concept, since each of the movements may arise from the same cause, and ultimately, will be analysed in terms of their contribution to the final outcome; to the breaking up of the old order, and the forging of the new. Such a phenomenon is unitary, when its several elements arise from the same circumstances, and jointly lead to some definite and radical change, whether that outcome was intended or not.

### **the *nouvelle vague* — a case study in sociology of film movements**

I would like to suggest that the so-called 'French New Wave' may usefully be analysed within these terms of reference.

The term 'new wave' was a convenient journalistic label, probably originating from *l'Express*, used as acknowledgement that the French cinema was undergoing rapid change on several fronts, rather than to refer to any well-defined, unitary phenomenon. During the period from roughly 1958-1961, a large number of young directors made their first feature film. Between 1958-60, the number was over 100. As Jacques Siclier<sup>13</sup> remarked, nothing like it had ever happened before in France, or elsewhere. This represents between one-quarter and one-third of the total number of films, including both French, and co-productions, in that period. Clearly something very unusual was happening.

Only part of the 'New Wave' can be called a movement, however, namely the nucleus of *Cahiers* critics turned directors — Godard, Truffaut, Chabrol, Rivette, Rohmer, and Doniol-Valcroze. Other identifiable groupings include the Left-Bank group of Resnais, Marker, and Varda, and that of Malle, Demy, and Vadim. Considered individually, these directors are each very different, especially when their later development is taken into consideration. Nonetheless the New Wave heralded recognizable innovations of style and theme, which I shall attempt briefly to sketch.<sup>14</sup>

The lack of any social dimension is characteristic of the typical New Wave film. Its heroes are neither personally nor socially integrated, and are dissociated from their social roles. Indeed it is not always possible to identify those roles. They are *marginal men*, disaffected intellectuals, students, and in one case (*The Sign of the Lion*), a rather high-class tramp. Interest centres purely on immediate face-to-face relations. They have no apparent family ties, on the whole, no political affiliations. Action is engaged in for its own sake, and this is often arbitrary and motiveless. There are no social antecedents of action, only emotional and volitional. There are no points of articulation between the individual and society. Nor are these anomic lives placed in any broader setting. The milieu of the individual exhausts the films' compass.

The subjective and objective worlds are fused, also those of reality and fantasy. The epistemology dominant in the West since Descartes, with its egocentrism, and the dominant values of individualism and liberty, are here reduced to absurdity. Egotization of the world reaches the point of solipsism, where the ego submerges, and is in turn submerged in, the objective world. The interiority of the subject is lost. The world is paradoxically depersonalized. Resnais and Godard are twin poles of this phenomenon.

All this stands in marked contrast to the naïve realism of the French cinema of the 'forties and 'fifties. Stylistic and technical innovations are equally marked. Perhaps more in the commitment to experiment and innovation, rather than in any specific set of innovations.

This thumb-nail sketch obviously would not fit exactly the work of any single director of the period. It over-simplifies, and it is also reductive. It is intended to mark a break, rather than to adequately characterize the emergent set of interests and ways of looking at the world.

I shall adapt Smelser's theory of collective behaviour,<sup>13</sup> for the purpose of analysis of the generation of the New Wave. Smelser uses the logic of *value-added* for his theory. Each stage in the process 'adds its value' to the final outcome. At each stage, the range of possibilities of outcome is narrowed. His set of determinants are as follows: *structural conduciveness*, *structural strain*, growth and spread of a *generalized belief*, (in terms of which the situation is redefined), *precipitating factor*, *mobilization* of participants for action, and finally, *social control*. This analysis will inevitably be simplified, as it would be necessary to distinguish the various groups of participants in the New Wave. Here, I shall concentrate on the directors involved. However, within the framework of analysis chosen, the phenomenon is as much defined by the behaviour of the financiers and producers who sponsored the films, as by the filmmakers themselves. Any full-scale analysis would have to be allied with the first 'micro-sociological' approach identified above as institutional/structural analysis, there may be relevant changes at many points in the system, and different parts of the system will be differentially affected by any changes which do take place.

### 1. *Structural Conduciveness*

It is a truism that no movement, political or cultural, will get off the ground unless the contextual circumstances are favourable. I shall examine some aspects of the structure of the French industry at the time, although this will not be comprehensive or complete.

#### (i) *Production and Finance*

The French cinema is structured horizontally along functional lines, in contrast to the American, which contains major vertical cleavages, at least this is true of the heyday of the Studio system. The French cinema was and is highly segmented. Such a structure is likely to be relatively conservative in its choice and promotion of films. But on the other hand it lacks a power structure in which any systematic discriminations could be made. Innovative films may find some outlet. The system itself has high survival value, since there are no monolithic structures whose fall would have ramifications throughout the industry.

The French industry is small and marginal. It has suffered endemically from lack of capital, a small turnover, and underinvestment. It is marginal both because of its small size, in relation to other industries, and in its lack of integration with the industrial sector. This characteristic

partly stems from the nature of film itself. It has a product which cannot be standardized. Each production is a *prototype*. Financial success is in principle uncertain and unpredictable. Yet large sums must be committed in advance. There is no possibility of a trial and error approach, in which a limited risk is taken. But large profits may be made with a single outstanding success. The film is hired and not sold, therefore its dissemination costs little more in the case of success than of failure. In sum, the norm of economic rationality could hardly flourish here. The ethos of *change*, and *luck*, rather than the calculated risk, is paramount. Hollywood abounds in quasi-magical practices to ensure success. The Weberian 'spirit of capitalism', frugal, careful, and conservative, is less in evidence than a more primitive spirit of *adventure* capitalism.

The risk taken is unevenly distributed among the various participants. The producer takes no personal risk, as he is guaranteed a 7 per cent return, regardless of the fortunes of the film. Foreign producers, distributors, and the State, in that order, bear the largest share of the cost, although the risk again varies.

French film production is an occasional and sporadic activity. In any year, only about one-fifth of the number of registered production companies are active. The majority produce only one film. 'The producer makes a film in the manner in which one mounts a hold-up. Each one is different from the last, each time he must seek collaborators and creditors.'<sup>16</sup>

The average cost of film-making rose from 0.60 million francs in 1956, to 2.97 in 1966. But at the time of the New Wave, costs were still relatively low.

#### (ii) *Distribution*

Distributors play a key role in the French industry. A few large companies dominate the market, and receive a large share of total revenue. It is a more highly capitalized sector than production. It is increasingly important as a source of film finance.

#### (iii) *Exhibition*

There are no large circuits. The overall ratio of exhibitors to houses is almost one to one. This sector has been severely hit by the crisis.

#### (iv) *State*

The Centre Nationale du Cinématographie (CNC) controls everything to do with finance and receipts of films. It grants authorizations to make films, issues professional cards of identity, gives advances and subsidies, and organizes professional and technical training. The amount of control and intervention is greater than in any other non-socialist State.

## (v) *Audience*

The common conception of film is of an essentially popular art, with a mass, heterogeneous audience. The composition of the French audience seems to have changed in recent years. It is on average, more highly educated than the British or American, and of different social composition. Regular cinema-goers are drawn more from professionals and intellectuals, and the middle classes, than is the case in Anglo-Saxon countries. It may be that in this respect, France merely leads a general trend. Chevalier and Billard point out that this fact accords with the growing recognition of the cinema in other arts, especially literature, where since about mid-century, cinematic references are as frequent as were theatre and theatre-going references previously. There is evidence of growing cultural integration of film. Here, too, France surely is ahead of other countries.

In sum, the French film industry contains no monolithic giants to dominate and shape it. But its very segmentary nature militates against any high degree of *voluntary* innovativeness. It may respond to outside pressure of events, but is not highly self-directed. Incentives to innovativeness are few. The cinema in general unites two opposing tendencies — the search for *novelty* and the search for a *formula*. It involves a high degree of risk for innovation, but an equally high reward when successful (eg Warner Brothers and sound). Its product is not divisible, and therefore it is difficult to experiment.<sup>17</sup> The failure of an innovation may mean extinction, especially to the small producer. The French industry is composed almost entirely of small producers. On the other hand it does not penalize its innovators where it may not actually promote them. France has a tradition of the privately financed, single venture, and such films played a key role in the French New Wave. There is a greater possibility of distribution and exhibition of such films in a segmentary structure than there is in the circuit system.

## 2. *Structural Strain*

The history of the French cinema is a history of crisis. After the war, the Blum-Byrnes agreement resulted in a flood of American films with disastrous effect on the war-damaged indigenous industry. The 1949 Temporary Aid Law was ameliorative, but the situation was still critical. Many well-established directors were unable to work, or did so at a much reduced rate. Clair, Autant-Lara, Becker, Duvivier, and Carné, each had directed only one film during 1946-49.

In a word, the opportunity structure for creative artists in the cinema was very poor. This situation was exacerbated, from the point of view of new entrants, by the policy of large subjects, well-known actors and directors, and adaptations of works of literature. It was extremely diffi-



cult for a new director to get launched. In addition, union rules were formidable, although these seem to have been loosely enforced.

The crisis in the cinema traditionally and misleadingly attributed to TV, occurred late in France, and can be dated almost precisely at 1957. From that date the falling off of audiences was dramatic. At the same time, 'quality' films began to wane in popularity. The old well-tryed formulae were failing. A new definition and restructuring of the situation was needed. The *precipitating factor* was the success of Vadim's *And Woman was Created*. . . . Today it is hard to recreate its seeming novelty. The point is not so much what it contains, as how its success was 'read', and along what lines it was generalized as a 'formula' for the future.

### 3 and 4. *Generalized Belief and Mobilization*

The young critics and would-be directors of *Cahiers du Cinema* had presented precisely a redefinition of the cinema, in terms of which the dominant 'quality' films were attacked — the Bost-Aurenche adaptations, and films of such men as Carné, Clouzot, etc. A ready-made re-orientation in terms of the *auteur* principle, and a different set of cinematic values existed, and the *Cahiers* group were therefore particularly well-placed to benefit from the search for novelty. The 'lines of generalization' seized upon were youth, the use of unknown directors and actors, and a disregard of all tradition, and for a short period these were almost prerequisites for a new director.

### 5. *Social Control*

This residual category concerns the response to a movement, unlike the others, and the conditions for its success rather than its generation. The structural factors considered were permissive of the New Wave only on condition that it 'produced the goods'. Conditions at its height, where many new directors made a single film, and where many failed to complete projects, could not last. In the event, the New Wave produced a fierce reaction. It was readily extinguished, leaving behind a handful of directors who had managed to establish themselves.

### *Achievements*

The French New Wave, especially in its critical moment, gave the French cinema a new paternity. It instituted a new *cinematic* cinema, whose heroes were directors such as Renoir, Rossellini, Leenhardt, etc. Above all, it integrated the American cinema into its cultural heritage, for American directors featured widely in its pantheon. This represented the coming of age of the cinema, when it could insist on the value of its own past, and refuse to rely for legitimation on borrowings from the established arts, especially literature and théâtre. Like political inde-

pendence movements, this coming of age had a certain nativistic element. In its insistence on its own autonomy, however, it paves the way for a more truly fruitful synthesis with other forms.

The French New Wave revitalized the French cinema, and upgraded it as an autonomous art form. Its repercussions are being felt throughout the cinematic world, both in influence on 'the look' of films, and more importantly, in its initiation of a critical/theoretical debate. For although *Cahiers* made no very great contribution to critical theory, except in the person of André Bazin, nevertheless its critical judgements remain a fixed point of reference for the subsequent debate.

It failed, at a more parochial level, to change the structure of the French film industry. Controls were, if anything, tighter as a result, than they were before. Initial capital requirements, for instance, for making a film were raised out of all proportion to increased costs. Union requirements were tightened. The net result on this front was merely that a generation of film-makers were enabled to force their way into a moribund industry. They have not, in the process, made the task any easier for future generations. Perhaps it was too much to expect them to do. For to institutionalize creativity is not impossible, as the social organization of science demonstrates. However, in such a necessarily highly capitalized art form as the cinema, it is surely maximally difficult.

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# Cinema/Ideology/Criticism

Jean-Luc Comolli and Paul Narboni

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*The upheaval of May 1968 in France challenged not only established institutions, but established modes of thought. Film criticism under the impact of the May events, of ideas developed by Althusser in his work on Marx, and by a new school of structuralist thought in linguistics and anthropology, became increasingly political, Marxist and intellectually rigorous in its approach to film.*

*In January 1969 Cinéthique began to publish as an explicitly Marxist-Leninist film review. And later in the same year Cahiers du Cinéma, possibly the most important film review of the post-war years, broke with its past and defined for itself a new critical stance — Marxist, political, scientific — but one different from that adopted by Cinéthique.*

*The differences between the two reviews provoked serious critical and theoretical debate about the relationship of film to ideology, the cultural role of film, the means of its production and the nature of political cinema. This debate has produced important new ideas about the function and direction of film criticism and represents a new critical departure not yet fully absorbed or even fully known in England.*

*In this issue Screen is reprinting the first part of a Cahiers editorial \* (October-November 1969, Nos 216, 217) relevant to their taking of a new position and to their differences with Cinéthique. In future issues of Screen it is hoped to publish further material from both those French film reviews in order to provide readers with a full discussion of the ideas and issues involved.*

S.R.

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Scientific criticism has an obligation to define its field and methods. This implies awareness of its own historical and social situation, a rigorous analysis of the proposed field of study, the conditions which make the work necessary and those which make it possible, and the special function it intends to fulfil.

It is essential that we at *Cahiers du Cinéma* should now undertake just such a global analysis of our position and aims. Not that we are starting entirely from zero. Fragments of such an analysis have been coming out of material we have published recently (articles, editorials, debates, answers to readers' letters) but in an imprecise form and as if by accident. They are an indication that our readers, just as much as we ourselves, feel the need for a clear theoretical base to which to relate our critical practice and its field, taking the two to be indivisible. 'Programmes' and 'revolutionary' plans and declarations tend to become an end in themselves. This is a trap we intend to avoid. Our objective is not to reflect upon what we 'want' (would like) to do, but upon what we *are* doing and what we *can* do, and this is impossible without an analysis of the present situation.

## I. WHERE?

(a) First, our situation. *Cahiers* is a group of people working together; one of the results of our work appearing as a magazine.<sup>1</sup> A magazine, that is to say, a particular product, involving a particular amount of work (on the part of those who write it, those who produce it and, indeed, those who read it). We do not close our eyes to the fact that a product of this nature is situated fairly and squarely inside the economic system of capitalist publishing (modes of production, spheres of circulation, etc). In any case it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise today, unless one is led astray by Utopian ideas of working 'parallel' to the system. The first step in the latter approach is always the paradoxical one of setting up a false front, a 'neo-system' alongside the system from which one is attempting to escape, in the fond belief that it will be able to negate the system. In fact all it can do is reject it (idealist purism) and consequently it is very soon jeopardized by the enemy upon which it modelled itself. This 'parallelism' works from one direction only. It touches only one side of the wound, whereas we believe that both sides have to be worked upon. And the danger of the parallels meeting all too speedily in infinity seems to us sufficient to argue that we had better stay in the finite and allow them to remain apart.

This assumed, the question is: what is our attitude to our situation? In France the majority of films, like the majority of books and magazines, are produced and distributed by the capitalist economic system and within the dominant ideology. Indeed, strictly speaking all are, whatever expedi-

ent they adopt to try and get around it. This being so, the question we have to ask is: which films, books and magazines allow the ideology a free, unhampered passage, transmit it with crystal clarity, serve as its chosen language? And which attempt to make it turn back and reflect itself, intercept it and make it visible by revealing its mechanisms, by blocking them?

(b) For the situation in which we are *acting* is the field of cinema (*Cahiers* is a film magazine),<sup>3</sup> and the precise object of our study is the history of a film: how it is produced, manufactured, distributed,<sup>4</sup> understood.

What is the film today? This is the relevant question; not, as it possibly once was: what is the cinema? We shall not be able to ask that again until a body of knowledge, of theory, has been evolved (a process to which we certainly intend to contribute) to inform what is at present an empty term, with a concept. For a film magazine the question is also: what work is to be done in the field constituted by films? And for *Cahiers* in particular: what is our specific function in this field? What is to distinguish us from other 'film magazines'?

## II. THE FILMS

What is a film? On the one hand it is a particular product, manufactured within a given system of economic relations, and involving labour (which appears to the capitalist as money) to produce — a condition to which even 'independent' film makers and the 'new cinema' are subject — assembling a certain number of workers for this purpose (even the director, whether he is Moullet or Oury, is in the last analysis only a film worker). It becomes transformed into a commodity, possessing exchange value, which is realized by the sale of tickets and contracts, and governed by the laws of the market. On the other hand, as a result of being a material product of the system, it is also an ideological product of the system, which in France means capitalism.<sup>5</sup>

No film-maker can, by his own individual efforts, change the economic relations governing the manufacture and distribution of his films. (It cannot be pointed out too often that even film-makers who set out to be 'revolutionary' on the level of message and form cannot effect any swift or radical change in the economic system — deform it, yes, deflect it, but not negate it or seriously upset its structure. Godard's recent statement to the effect that he wants to stop working in the 'system' takes no account of the fact that any other system is bound to be a reflection of the one he wishes to avoid. The money no longer comes from the Champs-Élysées but from London, Rome or New York. The film may not be marketed by the distribution monopolies but it is shot on film stock from another monopoly — Kodak.) Because every film is

part of the economic system it is also a part of the ideological system, for 'cinema' and 'art' are branches of ideology. None can escape: somewhere, like pieces in a jigsaw, all have their own allotted place. The system is blind to its own nature, but in spite of that, indeed because of that, when all the pieces are fitted together they give a very clear picture. But this does not mean that every film-maker plays a similar role. Reactions differ.

It is the job of criticism to see where they differ, and slowly, patiently, not expecting any magical transformations to take place at the wave of a slogan, to help change the ideology which conditions them.

A few points, which we shall return to in greater detail later: *every film is political*, inasmuch as it is determined by the ideology which produces it (or within which it is produced, which stems from the same thing). The cinema is all the more thoroughly and completely determined because unlike other arts or ideological systems its very manufacture mobilizes powerful economic forces in a way that the production of literature (which becomes the commodity 'books', does not — though once we reach the level of distribution, publicity and sale, the two are in rather the same position.

Clearly, the cinema 'reproduces' reality: this is what a camera and film stock are for — so says the ideology. But the tools and techniques of film-making are a part of 'reality' themselves, and furthermore 'reality' is nothing but an expression of the prevailing ideology. Seen in this light, the classic theory of cinema that the camera is an impartial instrument which grasps, or rather is impregnated by, the world in its 'concrete reality' is an eminently reactionary one. What the camera in fact registers is the vague, unformulated, untheorized, unthought-out world of the dominant ideology. Cinema is one of the languages through which the world communicates itself to itself. They constitute its ideology for they reproduce the world as it is experienced when filtered through the ideology. (As Althusser defines it, more precisely: 'Ideologies are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects, which work fundamentally on men by a process they do not understand. What men express in their ideologies is not their true relation to their conditions of existence, but how they react to their conditions of existence; which presupposes a real relationship and an imaginary relationship.') So, when we set out to make a film, from the very first shot, we are encumbered by the necessity of reproducing things not as they really are but as they appear when refracted through the ideology. This includes every stage in the process of production: subjects, 'styles', forms, meanings, narrative traditions; all underline the general ideological discourse. The film is ideology presenting itself to itself, talking to itself, learning about itself. Once we realize that it is the nature of the system to turn the cinema into an instrument

of ideology, we can see that the film-maker's first task is to show up the cinema's so-called 'depiction of reality'. If he can do so there is a chance that we will be able to disrupt or possibly even sever the connection between the cinema and its ideological function.

The vital distinction between films today is whether they do this or whether they do not.

(a) The first and largest category comprises those films which are imbued through and through with the dominant ideology in pure and unadulterated form, and give no indication that their makers were even aware of the fact. We are not just talking about so-called 'commercial' films. The *majority* of films in all categories are the unconscious instruments of the ideology which produces them. Whether the film is 'commercial' or 'ambitious', 'modern' or 'traditional', whether it is the type that gets shown in art houses, or in smart cinemas, whether it belongs to the 'old' cinema or the 'young' cinema, it is most likely to be a re-hash of the same old ideology. For all films are commodities and therefore objects of trade, even those whose discourse is explicitly political — which is why a rigorous definition of what constitutes 'political' cinema is called for at this moment when it is being widely promoted.<sup>6</sup> This merging of ideology and film is reflected in the first instance by the fact that audience demand and economic response have also been reduced to one and the same thing. In direct continuity with political practice, ideological practice reformulates the social need and backs it up with a discourse. This is not a hypothesis, but a scientifically-established fact. The ideology is talking to itself; it has all the answers ready before it asks the questions. Certainly there is such a thing as public demand, but 'what the public wants' means 'what the dominant ideology wants'. The notion of a public and its tastes was created by the ideology to justify and perpetuate itself. And this public can only express itself via the thought-patterns of the ideology. The whole thing is a closed circuit, endlessly repeating the same illusion.

The situation is the same at the level of artistic form. These films totally accept the established system of depicting reality: 'bourgeois realism' and the whole conservative box of tricks: blind faith in 'life', 'humanism', 'common sense' etc. A blissful ignorance that there might be something wrong with this whole concept of 'depiction' appears to have reigned at every stage in their production, so much so, that to us it appears a more accurate gauge of pictures in the 'commercial' category than box-office returns. Nothing in these films jars against the ideology, or the audience's mystification by it. They are very reassuring for audiences for there is no difference between the ideology they meet every day and the ideology on the screen. It would be a useful complementary task for film critics to look into the way the ideological system and its



products merge at all levels: to study the phenomenon whereby a film being shown to an audience becomes a monologue, in which the ideology talks to itself, by examining the success of films by, for instance, Melville, Oury and Lelouch.

(b) A second category is that of films which attack their ideological assimilation on two fronts. Firstly, by direct political action, on the level of the 'signified', ie they deal with a directly political subject. 'Deal with' is here intended in an active sense: they do not just discuss an issue, reiterate it, paraphrase it, but use it to attack the ideology (this presupposes a theoretical activity which is the direct opposite of the ideological one). This act only becomes politically effective if it is linked with a breaking down of the traditional way of depicting reality. On the level of form, *Unreconciled*, *The Edge* and *Earth in Revolt* all challenge the concept of 'depiction' and mark a break with the tradition embodying it.

We would stress that only action on both fronts, 'signified' and 'signifiers'<sup>7</sup> has any hope of operating against the prevailing ideology. Economic/political and formal action have to be indissolubly wedded.

(c) There is another category in which the same double action operates, but 'against the grain'. The content is not explicitly political, but in some way becomes so through the criticism practised on it through its form.<sup>8</sup> To this category belong *Méditerranée*, *The Bellboy*, *Persona*. . . . For *Cabiers* these films (b and c) constitute the essential in the cinema, and should be the chief subject of the magazine.

(d) Fourth case: those films, increasingly numerous today, which have an explicitly political content (*Z* is not the best example as its presentation of politics is unremittingly ideological from first to last; a better example would be *Le Temps de Vivre*) but which do not effectively criticize the ideological system in which they are embedded because they unquestioningly adopt its language and its imagery.

This makes it important for critics to examine the effectiveness of the political criticism intended by these films. Do they express, reinforce, strengthen the very thing they set out to denounce? Are they caught in the system they wish to break down. . . ? (see a)

(e) Five: films which seem at first sight to belong firmly within the ideology and to be completely under its sway, but which turn out to be so only in an ambiguous manner. For though they start from a non-progressive standpoint, ranging from the frankly reactionary through the conciliatory to the mildly critical, they have been worked upon, and work, in such a real way that there is a noticeable gap, a dislocation, between the starting point and the finished product. We disregard here

the inconsistent — and unimportant — sector of films in which the director makes a *conscious* use of the prevailing ideology, but leaves it absolutely straight. The films we are talking about throw up obstacles in the way of the ideology, causing it to swerve and get off course. The cinematic framework lets us see it, but also shows it up and denounces it. Looking at the framework one can see two moments in it: one-holding it back within certain limits, one transgressing them. An internal criticism is taking place which cracks the film apart at the seams. If one reads the film obliquely, looking for symptoms; if one looks beyond its apparent formal coherence, one can see that it is riddled with cracks: it is splitting under an internal tension which is simply not there in an ideologically innocuous film. The ideology thus becomes subordinate to the text. It no longer has an independent existence: it is *presented* by the film. This is the case in many Hollywood films for example, which while being completely integrated in the system and the ideology end up by partially dismantling the system from within. We must find out what makes it possible for a film-maker to corrode the ideology by restating it in the terms of his film: if he sees his film simply as a blow in favour of liberalism, it will be recuperated instantly by the ideology; if, on the other hand, he conceives and realizes it on the deeper level of imagery, there is a chance that it will turn out to be more disruptive. Not, of course, that he will be able to break the ideology itself, but simply its reflection in his film. (The films of Ford, Dreyer, Rossellini, for example.)

Our position with regard to this category of films is: that we have absolutely no intention of joining the current witch-hunt against them. They are the mythology of their own myths. They criticize themselves, even if no such intention is written into the script, and it is irrelevant and impertinent to do so for them. All we want to do is to show the process in action.

(f) Films of the 'live cinema' (*cinéma direct*) variety, group one (the larger of the two groups). These are films arising out of political (or, it would probably be more exact to say: social) events or reflections, but which make no clear differentiation between themselves and the non-political cinema because they do not challenge the cinema's traditional, ideologically-conditioned method of 'depiction'. For instance a miner's strike will be filmed in the same style as *Les Grandes Familles*. The makers of these films suffer under the primary and fundamental illusion that if they once break off the ideological filter of narrative traditions (dramaturgy, construction, domination of the component parts by a central idea, emphasis on formal beauty) reality will then yield itself up in its true form. The fact is that by doing so they only break off one filter, and not the most important one at that. For reality holds within

itself no hidden kernel of self-understanding, of theory, of truth, like a stone inside a fruit. We have to manufacture those. (Marxism is very clear on this point, in its distinction between 'real' and 'perceived' objects.) Cf *Chiefs* (Leacock and a good number of the May films).

This is why supporters of *cinéma direct* resort to the same idealist terminology to express its role and justify its successes as others use about products of the greatest artifice: 'accuracy', 'a sense of lived experience', 'flashes of intense truth', 'moments caught live', 'abolition of all sense that we are watching a film' and finally: fascination. It is that magical notion of 'seeing is understanding': ideology goes on display to prevent itself from being shown up for what it really is, contemplates itself but does not criticize itself.

(g) The other kind of 'live cinema'. Here the director is not satisfied with the idea of the camera 'seeing through appearances', but attacks the basic problem of depiction by giving an active role to the concrete stuff of his film. It then becomes productive of meaning and is not just a passive receptacle for meaning produced outside it (in the ideology): *La Règne du Jour*, *La Rentrée des Usines Wonder*.

### III. CRITICAL FUNCTION

Such, then, is the field of our critical activity: these films, within the ideology, and their different relations to it. From this precisely defined field spring four functions: (1) in the case of the films in category (a): show what they are blind to; how they are totally determined, moulded, by the ideology; (2) in the case of those in categories (b), (c) and (g), read them on two levels, showing how the films operate critically on the level of signified and signifiers; (3) in the case of those of types (d) and (f), show how the signified (political subject matter) is always weakened, rendered harmless, by the absence of technical/theoretical work on the signifiers; (4) in the case of those in group (e) point out the gap produced between film and ideology by the way the films work, and show how they work.

There can be no room in our critical practice either for speculation (commentary, interpretation, de-coding even) or for spacious raving (of the film-columnist variety). It must be a rigidly factual analysis of what governs the production of a film (economic circumstances, ideology, demand and response) and the meanings and forms appearing in it, which are equally tangible.

The tradition of frivolous and evanescent writing on the cinema is as tenacious as it is prolific, and film analysis today is still massively pre-determined by idealistic presuppositions. It wanders farther abroad today, but its method is still basically empirical. It has been through a necessary stage of going back to the material elements of a film, its

signifying structures, its formal organization. The first steps here were undeniably taken by André Bazin, despite the contradictions that can be picked out in his articles. Then followed the approach based on structural linguistics (in which there are two basic traps, which we fell into — phenomenological positivism and mechanistic materialism). As surely as criticism had to go through this stage, it has to go beyond. To us, the only possible line of advance seems to be to use the theoretical writing of the Russian film-makers of the twenties (Eisenstein above all) to elaborate and apply a critical theory of the cinema, a specific method of apprehending rigorously defined objects, in direct reference to the method of dialectical materialism.

It is hardly necessary to point out that we know that the 'policy' of a magazine cannot — indeed, should not — be corrected by magic overnight. We have to do it patiently, month by month, being careful in our own field to avoid the general error of putting faith in spontaneous change, or attempting to rush in a 'revolution' without the preparation to support it. To start proclaiming at this stage that the truth has been revealed to us would be like talking about 'miracles' or 'conversion'. All we should do is to state what work is already in progress and publish articles which relate to it, either explicitly or implicitly.

We should indicate briefly how the various elements in the magazine fit into this perspective. The essential part of the work obviously takes place in the theoretical articles and the criticisms. There is coming to be less and less of a difference between the two, because it is not our concern to add up the merits and defects of current films in the interests of topicality, nor, as one humorous article put it 'to crack up the product'. The interviews, on the other hand, and also the 'diary' columns and the list of films, with the dossiers and supplementary material for possible discussion later, are often stronger on information than theory. It is up to the reader to decide whether these pieces take up any critical stance, and if so, what.

J.-L.C. and J.N.

#### NOTES

1. Others include distribution, screening and discussion of films in the provinces and the suburbs, sessions of theoretical work (see 'Montage' No 210).
2. Or tolerated, and jeopardized by this very toleration. Is there any need to stress that it is the tried tactic of covertly repressive systems not to harass the protesting fringe? They go out of their way to take no notice of them, with the double effect of making one half of the opposition careful not to try their patience too far and the other half complacent in the knowledge that their activities are unobserved.
3. We do not intend to suggest by this that we want to erect a corporatist fence round our own field, and neglect the infinitely larger field where so much is obviously at stake politically. Simply, we are concentrating on that precise

point of the spectrum of social activity in this article, in response to precise operational needs.

4. A more and more pressing problem. It would be inviting confusion to allow it to be tackled in bits and pieces and obviously we have to make a unified attempt to pose it theoretically later on. For the moment we leave it aside.
5. Capitalist ideology. This term expresses our meaning perfectly, but as we are going to use it without further definition in this article, we should point out that we are not under any illusion that it has some kind of 'abstract essence'. We know that it is historically and socially determined, and that it has multiple forms at any given place and time, and varies from historical period to historical period. Like the whole category of 'militant' cinema, which is totally vague and undefined at present. We must (a) rigorously define the function attributed to it, its aims, its side effects (information, arousal, critical reflection, provocation 'which always has *some* effect' . . .); (b) define the exact political line governing the making and screening of these films — 'revolutionary' is too much of a blanket term to serve any useful purpose here; and (c) state whether the supporters of militant cinema are in fact proposing a line of action in which the cinema would become the poor relation, in the illusion that the less the cinematic aspect is worked on, the greater the strength and clarity of the 'militant' effect will be. This would be a way of avoiding the contradictions of 'parallel' cinema and getting embroiled in the problem of deciding whether 'underground' films should be included in the category, on the pretext that their relationship to drugs and sex, their preoccupation with form, might possibly establish new relationships between film and audience.
7. We are not shutting our eyes to the fact that it is an oversimplification (employed here because operationally easier) to make such a sharp distinction between the two terms. This is particularly so in the case of the cinema, where the signified is more often than not a product of the permutations of the signifiers, and the sign has dominance over the meaning.
8. This is not a magical doorway out of the system of 'depiction' (which is particularly dominant in the cinema) but rather a rigorous, detailed, large-scale work on this system — what conditions make it possible, what mechanisms render it innocuous. The method is to draw attention to the system, so that it can be seen for what it is, to make it serve one's own ends, condemn itself out of its own mouth. Tactics employed may include 'turning cinematic syntax upside-down' but it cannot be just that. Any old film nowadays can upset the normal chronological order in the interests of looking vaguely 'modern'. But *The Exterminating Angel* and *The Diary of Anna Magdalena Bach* (though we would not wish to set them up as a model) are rigorously chronological without ceasing to be subversive in the way we have been describing, whereas in many a film the mixed-up time sequence simply covers up a basically naturalistic conception. In the same way, perceptual confusion (avowed intent to act on the unconscious mind, changes in the texture of the film, etc) are not sufficient in themselves to get beyond the traditional way of depicting 'reality'. To realize this, one has only to remember the unsuccessful attempts there have been of the 'lettriste' or of new kinds of onomatopoeia. In the one and the other case only the most 'zacum' type to give back its infinity to language by using nonsense words superficial level of language is touched. They create a new code, which operates on the level of the impossible, and has to be rejected on any other, and is therefore not in a position to transgress the normal.

translated by SUSAN BENNETT

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# Film Journals: Britain and France

Claire Johnston

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Since the Second World War, film magazines devoted to film criticism as opposed to trade journals and fan magazines have proliferated in many countries, but nowhere have they achieved the standards of the leading French magazines: *Cahiers du Cinéma*, *Cinéthique*, *la Revue Internationale de Filmologie*, *Etudes Cinématographique*, *Positif* and others. It would require an extensive historical and sociological study before one could attempt to determine with any degree of certainty what factors contributed to this phenomenon. One suspects that the surrealists contributed enormously to the early acceptance of the cinema as an art form, and the involvement of film-makers like Dulac, Leenhardt, Delloc and Epstein in critical writing began a tradition which was continued in the 'nouvelle vague'. Other influences may have been Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological studies and Sartre's studies of the imagination. Most of the interesting writing of the immediate post-war period appeared in the newly-founded magazine *la Revue du Cinéma* edited by Jean-Georges Auriol and in *l'Ecran Français* which in 1948 was responsible for publishing Astruc's manifesto in which he developed the concept of 'la caméra stylo'. The real breakthrough, however, can be located in 1951, with the birth of *Cahiers du Cinéma* out of *la Revue*, edited by André Bazin, Lo Duca and Jacques Doniol-Valcroze. The key figure was undoubtedly Bazin, and his involvement with the formulation of a systematic theory of the cinema with which to counter Eisenstein's theory of montage. This is not the place to give an account of Bazin's theories; nevertheless it should be said that it was his aesthetic based on the notion of the realistic nature of the film image and his championing of a kind of 'degree zero' in editing which was responsible for the burst of interest in the American cinema and especially in the Hollywood genres. It was in 1955 that the younger writers, Truffaut, Rivette, Scherer and Domarchi began to emerge as offering a possible reformula-



tion of Bazin's position, though adhering to his basically Catholic system of values. The 'Hitchcocko-Hawksiens', as they came to be called, did not confine themselves to the American cinema exclusively; Renoir and Rossellini assumed enormous importance for the *Cahiers* critics. However, it was their involvement with the theoretical problems thrown up by the American cinema which led to Truffaut's formulation of 'la politique des auteurs'; which at that time was basically a polemical stance, involving the formation of a pantheon (some of the first directors to be examined were Lang, Hitchcock, Hawks, Mankiewicz and Welles) and the developing of a critical vocabulary with terms such as 'auteur' and 'mise-en-scene'. Much of the writing, in the tradition of Bazin, was extremely detailed, and was backed up with extensive interviews. Although Bazin profoundly disagreed with the younger critics, the kind of attacks made on them particularly by the popular press compelled him to come to their defence. Undoubtedly *Cahiers* discovery that it is possible to make personal films within the commercial context contributed greatly to the birth of the 'nouvelle vague', but it was *Cahiers* somewhat unscrupulous appropriation of the term and their restriction of it to their own directors which did not go unopposed. *Positif* was the only magazine to really take up the challenge of *Cahiers*' polemic, but it was the moralism of much of their writing and their arrogant re-definition of the 'nouvelle vague' to suit their own purposes as much as their critical methods which led *Positif* to take up the challenge. *Positif* argued in favour of social commitment, freedom of expression and the surrealist ethic. It must be stated, however, that their commitment, in general, was confined to campaigning against censorship and to anti-clericalism.<sup>1</sup>

The violence with which *Positif* and *Cahiers* attacked and counter-attacked each other revealed a degree of concern about critical attitudes and theory which could not have existed were it not for Henri Langlois and the Cinémathèque Française. Both factions were quick to admit that it was Langlois' policy of showing as many films as possible, of organizing extensive national retrospectives and covering the complete oeuvres of as many directors as possible which provided them with the opportunity of systematizing their knowledge of the cinema. The importance French film critics and directors attach to the Cinémathèque can perhaps best be gauged by their reaction to Langlois' dismissal in 1968; all factions were united for the first time in their lives. The *Cahiers/Positif* polemic in the early sixties could be said to have contributed in a large measure to the major advance which took place in the middle sixties. Both factions were forced to re-examine their assumptions and defend their critical preferences which resulted in a much more rigorous approach and a more widespread interest in film theory. There was a further proliferation of film magazines (eg *Cinéma 55-71*, *Premier Plan*,

*Présence du Cinéma*, *Midi-Minuit Fantastique* etc) which led to the *auteur* approach being applied to directors which had been neglected by both *Cahiers* and *Positif*: Jacques Tourneur, Allan Dwan, Terence Fisher, Roger Corman, etc. However, it was left to *Cahiers* to bring about a thoroughgoing reformulation of *auteur* theory; with the other magazines it remained an approach and little more.

Under the influence of structuralism, *Cahiers* in the mid-sixties went further than any other film magazine ever has towards establishing film criticism as a scientific discipline. It became necessary for *Cahiers* critics to be familiar with the writings of Barthes, Metz, Peirce, Greimas, Propp, Lefebvre, Althusser, Eco and others before embarking on any study of the cinema. At the same time, the magazine retained its popular format. *Cahiers*' attempt to establish a semiology of the cinema has been fairly thoroughgoing; Bellour's analysis of a ten-minute sequence of *The Birds* and Jean-Pierre Oudart's article on colour are perhaps the most striking examples. *Cahiers*' semantic concerns have gone beyond the purely thematic analyses of individual directors; they are now examining such problems as narrative in the cinema.

*Positif* is no longer in a position to carry on a meaningful dialogue with *Cahiers*; its role as a polemical adversary has been filled by a fairly recent addition to the list of film magazines, *Cinéthique*.<sup>\*</sup> While committed to the formulation of a general theory of the cinema, *Cinéthique* argues that *Cahiers* is blind to the fact that all films made within a capitalist system must by their very nature, convey a bourgeois ideology. By extension, the defence of such cultural products necessarily reveals the critic as a bourgeois. *Cahiers*, while accepting the logic of this argument, denies that it is applicable to their magazine, and further argues that *Cinéthique* fails to practise what it preaches. This most recent controversy had the merit of forcing *Cahiers* into the publication of a long and elaborate editorial in which its policy was set out in great detail in October 1969. On comparing *Cahiers* and *Cinéthique* it becomes clear that their primary aim is to 'demythify' the myths of the bourgeoisie. *Cinéthique* claims it is possible or indeed necessary to make films outside the capitalist position, and any film made within that system is, by definition, bad. (A whole article was devoted to *Citizen Kane* in which the critic concerned claimed the film must be bad because it was made by RKO.) *Cahiers*' position is that it is impossible to operate outside the capitalist system in the West. In a bourgeois culture, they claim, the bourgeois ideology is all-inclusive; there is no room for the 'other'; every social class has to be assimilated. Bourgeois ideology, therefore, is a collection of historically determined myths which are passed off as

\* Much of the growing interest in language and ideology in film was engendered by the Pesaro Film Festival in 1967.

universal truth; they represent the 'naturalization of' culture. The task of the critic, therefore, is to examine and expose the film's relationship towards its capitalist context. *Cinéthique's* simplistic view has led to a great deal of impoverished film criticism; nevertheless, because of its interest in semiology it has run a number of interesting articles, and in particular, an interview with Christian Metz. In addition, it continues to perform the vital function of continuing the tradition of polemics among French film magazines.

Compared with its French counterpart, film criticism in Britain seems almost primitive, and attempts to alleviate the situation have been isolated and spasmodic. The only real school to have emerged in Britain was the 'film grammar' school which had far more influence in the field of film education than elsewhere. Its influence was not undermined so much by the emergence of new aesthetic principles, as was the case with montage theory in France, so much as by educational factors such as developments in the teaching of English. At present, British film criticism largely exists at the pre-Bazin stage. There a number of factors which have contributed to this situation, not least the firmly entrenched empiricist, anti-intellectual tradition and the way the British Film Institute in its acquisitions policy and through the National Film Theatre has inadvertently serviced this tendency. This is exemplified in the way film columnists are elevated to the status of critics, and film fans are regarded as historians. This explains why *Sight and Sound*, which is subsidized by the British Film Institute and therefore need not adhere to the demands of the market, chooses to do so, and sees itself as a predominantly journalistically motivated magazine. In this context, the critic is seen as someone of discrimination and taste which cannot really be contested. In Barthes' words, 'the bourgeois ideology . . . will state a fact or perceive a value, but will refuse explanation. The order of the world will be self-evident or ineffable; it will never be meaningful'.<sup>2</sup> All the critic is required to give is an impressionistic account of his immediate responses on viewing a film. Subjectivity has always been a crucial part of the bourgeois ideology. This enables the critic to impose his own language on to a work without explaining or justifying the stance to the reader. The critic's interpretation of an image, to take an extreme example, can be cited as the intention of the film-maker. Thus in a review the Oshima's *The Boy* (*Sight and Sound*, Summer 1970) Philip Strick can assert with confidence that the symbol of the Japanese flag in the film 'is intended as an ironic reminder of a militant nationalism'. If the work cannot be assimilated into the critic's own experience, it is written off as exotic, or, if necessary, simply a 'failure'. The extreme 'otherness' of such films as Glauber Rocha's *Black God, White Devil* can lead to the following kind of response; 'the cangaceiro also appears as a kind of samurai figure, in his adherence to extravagant codes as

much as in his sudden wild shrieks, flat-footed leaps and wheeling death fall' (*Sight and Sound*, 1970, by Penelope Houston). It is for these reasons that it is regarded as unwise to take the cinema too seriously, which accounts for the obligatory columns such as Arkadin. The bourgeois critic sees his work as a kind of vicarious emotional experience, and his skill lies in the way he puts words together to achieve the impressionistic account he is searching for, rather than in expressing ideas.

However, it is only in the last ten years that *Sight and Sound's* approach has become so monolithically entrenched; and one of the more depressing aspects of our film culture is that during that time its circulation has risen to over 30,000. The influence of writers like Gavin Lambert and Lindsay Anderson from *Sequence* in the early and middle fifties had much to do with this. Their involvement with the re-discovery of the American cinema and their concern about critical values led to a measure of self-scrutiny. It was in the late fifties and early sixties with the emergence of new magazines like *Movie*, *Definition* and *Motion* that film criticism as a whole was forced to examine its current assumptions, and it was in the pages of the short-lived magazine *Definition* that the controversy took hold. *Definition* took the position suggested by Lindsay Anderson in his article 'Stand Up! Stand Up!' in *Sight and Sound* in 1956 which was that film criticism should be based on clearly defined social values to which the critic should be totally committed. *Definition's* search for a normative aesthetic was not simply opposed to the empiricism and superficiality of *Sight and Sound* at that time. Its attacks were aimed with equal force at a group of writers who were later to form *Movie*, then writing in *Oxford Opinion*, whom they regaled as 'right-wing' in their formalist preoccupations and their interest in 'second-rate' directors like Hitchcock and 'fifty-third rate' directors like Fuller. The *Movie* writers (primarily Ian Cameron, Victor Perkins and Robin Wood) in their concern with developing a critical vocabulary took their ideas from the *Cabiers* writers of the middle fifties and Sarris's interpretation of them. The main body of their pantheon consisting of Hitchcock, Hawks, Preminger, Minnelli, Aldrich and Tashlin mirrored that of *Cabiers*, but their originality lay in the discovery of directors like Richard Brooks, Clive Donner, Richard Lester and Michael Powell. Their polemic for an alternative view of the British cinema in the form of Donner, Lester, Powell was a useful corrective to the realist/documentary tradition. *Movie* concentrated on discussing 'mise-en-scene' rather than delineating the thematic structure of the auteur's work. This led to an extremely detailed examination of sequences, and naturally led to the magazine increasingly confining itself to examinations of single films rather than the *oeuvre* as a whole, and extensive interviews were used to examine these questions in more detail. The stated aim of the *Movie* critics was to attempt to achieve an objective

description of the film through detailed scrutiny. However, their emphasis on the film as a self-sufficient entity meant that Robin Wood's Leavisian method could be easily accommodated, for once objective description had been achieved, *Movie* critics were as enthusiastic as anyone else in making moral judgements about the film in question. Nevertheless *Movie* is the only magazine to have successfully introduced polemics into British film criticism, and its popular format meant that it reached a much wider audience than the usual 'small magazine', so that it offered a real alternative to the established magazines. Regrettably it is no longer a real force, as it appears extremely spasmodically, though it has been influential in spawning other magazines and through its development into a publishing venture.

*The Brighton Film Review* has in many ways continued the polemical position of *Movie*, but it labours under the difficulty of having to restrict itself to films shown at film societies and local cinemas month by month. The critical policy of the magazine was never clearly delineated, though the reviewing of films as self-sufficient entities reflects not only exigencies under which the *Review* has to operate, but it expresses the policy of its editors. While much of the writing is extremely interesting and reflects a serious involvement with *auteur* theory, because of the need to publish the magazine monthly, the editors have been forced into the position of printing articles which suggest that the critics as a whole do not share a common approach to the cinema. As a result, the *Review* never really managed to acquire a distinct personality, which undermined much of its polemical intention. The general impression the magazine conveys is one of imitation (of *Cabiers* and *Movie*) rather than of adaptation, which is most evident in the *Review's Conseil des Cinq*, a slightly modified version of *Cabiers' Conseil des Dix*, which is quite meaningless in the light of the fact that many of the contributors have not seen the films in question. One has to count the *Brighton Film Review* as perhaps the major casualty of British film culture; lack of resources and viewing facilities, together with an insufficient number of knowledgeable critics prevented it from reaching the wider audience it deserves.

While eclecticism was forced on the *Brighton Film Review*, it was one of the expressed aims of *Cinema*, which in its first editorial stated its policy as 'keeping in contact with contemporary movements in acting, directing and aesthetics'. Its commitment to a series of structural analyses, therefore, did not constitute a polemical position as such. For this reason, *Cinema* involves itself quite extensively with the underground. Although contributions tend to vary the approach to the cinema, on the whole the concern with adhering to rigorous critical principles became one of its central features. Taking the *auteur* approach for granted, it is much more concerned with its reformulation in terms of structuralism;

in this sense, while the *Brighton Film Review* reflects the *Cahiers* of the fifties, *Cinema* reflects the more recent development in *Cahiers*. Although some *Cinema* critics have sacrificed precision for obscurantism and mystification, one can detect a genuine desire to explore new areas of the cinema, such as the Italian western. In general, the assumptions under which *Cinema* appears to be operating are that Britain already possesses a well-developed film culture. This, of course, is far from the case; its eclecticism and lack of any real polemic about the cinema is unlikely to radically change this situation.

The concern about the role of ideology in film criticism seems to be of fairly recent origin; *Cahiers'* reformulation of its position and the emergence of *Cinématique* in France were the spearhead of this movement. In Britain, two magazines emerged which set out to follow their example, *Cinemantics* and *After Image*. It is too early yet to assess the influence these magazines will have. *Cinemantics* seems to have abandoned any serious critical purpose after an extremely interesting first issue which contained a translation of some of a paper given by Umber and Eco at the Pesaro Festival in 1967.

*After Image*, which grew out of a university film magazine *Platinum* has only brought out two issues so far, a special issue on politics in the cinema, and an issue on the underground. It may be significant that *After Image* has not, as yet, been able to formulate its critical principles, and their second issue contains two totally conflicting editorials on the achievement on the underground. While *After Image* is committed to the growth of an 'independent cinema' to counter capitalism in the West, and believes that such a cinema is possible, it does not seem to be falling into the trap of over-simplification which much of the writing in *Cinématique* does, and one can only hope that its attempt to create some polemic within its own pages will be fruitful.

Rather than giving an exhaustive survey of film magazines in Britain, it has been the intention of this article to suggest some of the critical principles underlying film magazines in general. For this reason magazines like *Films and Filming*, *Focus on Film* and *The Monthly Film Bulletin* have been excluded as they appear to be based on the same critical assumptions which inform the most influential magazine of this type, *Sight and Sound*. What distinguishes *Films and Filming* and *Sight and Sound* is a different conception of the market, rather than any critical principles. Perhaps it should be said here that magazines like *Focus on Film* and *The Monthly Film Bulletin*, nevertheless, as predominantly informational magazines perform an extremely useful function in providing data for the film historian. A strong argument could be put forward that *The Monthly Film Bulletin* should confine itself exclusively to this function, and extend it.

The most significant feature to emerge from this survey is that the only real challenge to established critical attitudes in this country has come from student magazines. *Cinema* began at Cambridge, *After Image* (formerly *Platignum*) at Essex, *Brighton Film Review* at Sussex; going further back, *Definitions* was founded by ex-students of the London School of Film Technique, and *Movie* developed out of the activities of a group of writers for *Oxford Opinion*. (In the case of *Motion* which was started in the early sixties by students from LSE and Cambridge, the critics were much less concerned with challenging current critical assumptions than were the other magazines; its contribution lay in starting a series of largely informational monographs which was to develop into the publishing enterprise, the Tantivy Press.)

As compared with the situation in France there has been a marked resistance to any challenge to empiricism in the established journals; *auteur* criticism has been consistently misrepresented and trivialized, and the problems posed by the 'independent cinema' have never been considered seriously. For this reason, market factors have played a large part in undermining the impetus of this movement. The publications in question, even *Movie*, by far the most successful, audacious and professionally produced magazine, were all sporadically produced and comparatively short-lived. Their influence outside a narrow circle is negligible. The paperback market has proved less economically formidable and the critical criteria less entrenched; it is significant that the greatest inroads made by *auteur* criticism have been made in the paperback market, in the *Movie* and *Cinema One* series. Quite clearly if any vital film culture is to finally emerge in this country there has got to be a consolidation of these new approaches in a proliferation of regular film magazines. The importance for these magazines to publish a detailed account of the critical principles which inform their writing cannot be emphasized enough, with the regular reassessment and reformulation of their position as they progress. The example of *Cahiers du Cinéma* in this respect is instructive, and it is only in this kind of critical climate that genuine polemical criticism can emerge.

#### REFERENCES

1. See Peter Graham, ed, *The New Wave*, Cinema One Series, 1968.
2. See Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*, Editions du Seuil, 1957.

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## Book Reviews

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### Structuralism in Film Criticism\*

Ben Brewster

In the last few years, the idea of structuralism has attracted much attention in this country. The point of reference has not been American or Prague Structuralist Linguistics, but the emergence of a new generation of anthropologists, philosophers, semiologists and critics in France, a tendency dating back nearly to the war, but first achieving prominence as a tendency with universal ambitions after the publication of Lévi-Strauss's *La Pensée Sauvage* in 1962. This universality extends to the cinema, and therefore *cinéastes* and *cinéphiles* in this country, too, are concerned as to what consequences a 'structuralist' approach might have for the medium. But this interest has been slow to produce fruit, partly because of an irrational notion that the French writers are enormously obscure and difficult, partly because of the diversity of approaches which all seem to be included under the rubric 'structuralism'.

In the autumn of 1966, the John Hopkins Humanities Centre at Baltimore, Maryland, USA, organized an international seminar to discuss recent developments in the human sciences and criticism which was attended by scholars from many countries, but dominated by a dozen French writers, notably Georges Poulet, Lucien Goldmann, Tzvetan Todorov, Roland Barthes, Jean Hyppolite, Jacques Lacan, Guy Rosolato, Jacques Derrida, Jean-Pierre Vernant and Nicolas Ruwet. Thus, although Lévi-Strauss himself and Michel Foucault were absent, most of the prominent writers generally known as 'structuralists' (though many of them would reject the appellation) were present, and a number of their most prominent opponents, enough at any rate to suggest that the proceedings of the conference would be a good source for guidance in understanding 'structuralism' and its wider applications, including its application to the cinema (although the latter was only once mentioned in the recorded proceedings). These proceedings have now appeared

*The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man: the Structuralist Controversy.* Edited by Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato (The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore and London, 95s)

under the title *The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man: The Structuralist Controversy*, edited by Richard Macksey and Eugenio Donato. It contains fourteen papers and edited and translated transcripts of eleven discussions following papers. A variety of visiting scholars and students and faculty at John Hopkins took part in these discussions, which thus represent an even wider range of viewpoints. Colloquia, of course, suffer from certain inherent limitations — academicism, oral incoherence, mutual misunderstandings and, in this case, language difficulties. Nevertheless, a fairly clear picture does emerge. I shall try to delimit this picture in my review, and then to explore its implications for the cinema and film criticism.

Firstly, a clear opposition emerged among the major colloquists. On the one side were Donato, Todorov, Barthes, Lacan, Rosolato and Derrida, on the other Goldmann, supported by some visiting phenomenologists, notably Paul de Man. Poulet, Vernant and Ruwet occupied somewhat oblique positions with respect to this opposition, while Hyppolite adopted the role of a kind of elder statesman. Curiously enough, this dispute did not concern primarily the concept of structure — all participants agreed as to its definition (a whole greater than the sum of its parts) and its importance in the human sciences. Rather, as Peter Caws remarked after the last paper, 'we have found that what has become primary in nearly all the discussions has been a metaphysical rather than a methodological question, principally the metaphysical question of the *subject* which has been considered to be a product of language, posterior to language' (p 314). This last position was that of the structuralists. It was opposed by Goldmann, who, with his characteristic combination of Piaget's genetic epistemology and Lukács's historicist Marxism, regarded the subject as an instance unifying the world into significant wholes ('significant structures'), either individual or social, relating to practical activity — where man is concerned, to labour and the making of history. The subject of all human activity, whether individual or social, is therefore historically and socially relative. The task of the literary (or other) critic is to isolate the socially determined 'significant structure' within which the author in question creates (eg with Racine, Jansenism) and its socio-historical location (the *noblesse de robe* in seventeenth-century France). For Barthes and Todorov, on the contrary, *language* and *writing* as activities precede every subject constitution, and the subject is an entirely secondary phenomenon, constituted by the language of the work and ambiguous and variable within it. For Lacan, the subject, far from being a stable, creative centre of a meaningful world, is always absent, always elsewhere, and constantly leaks away from its own self-apprehension and from the outside observer's grasp. As he is quoted, 'I think where I am not, hence I am where I think not' (p 95). For Derrida, the metaphysical concept of the subject is the centre of a structure, and

structure, centre and subject always represent attempts to rediscover the original, natural reality behind the historically derived concepts; this process is both inevitable for all thought, and impossible. Hence the task of philosophy is the difficult one of thinking this centre as both present and absent, and the structure both as a structure and as a 'free play'.

Thus a large part of the book invokes a difficult philosophical question which is posed and answered in difficult ways, with a wide range of reference to the history of philosophy and the sciences, particularly to Hegel, Nietzsche, Freud and Heidegger. This question is of great interest, but it takes us a long way from the problem of the cinema. To get back to this problem, I shall leave the philosophical question for a closer examination of the 'structuralist' contributions to criticism strictly speaking, in particular those of Barthes and Todorov.

In the discussion after their two papers, there was a significant clash between Barthes and the American critic Paul de Man. In his paper, Barthes had claimed the emergence of a new approach to literature, or rather the renewal of an old rhetorical approach which had disappeared in the last century and a half. This approach concentrated on literature as a linguistic phenomenon, and on its procedures as dependent on a number of features of language. 'It seems to me that these facts of language were not readily perceptible so long as literature pretended to be a transparent expression of either objective calendar time or of psychological subjectivity, that is to say, as long as literature maintained a totalitarian ideology of the referent, or more commonly speaking, as long as literature was realistic' (p 138). Paul de Man commented: 'I find that you have an optimistic historical myth . . . which is linked to the abandonment of the last active form of traditional philosophy that we know, phenomenology, and the replacement of phenomenology by psycho-analysis, etc. That represents historical progress and extremely optimistic possibilities for the history of thought. However you must show us that the results you have obtained in the stylistic analyses that you make are superior to those of your predecessors thanks to this optimistic change which is linked to a certain historical renewal. . . . But . . . when I hear you refer to facts of literary history, you say things that are false within a typically French myth. . . . When . . . you speak of writing since Mallarmé and of the new novel, etc, and you oppose them to what happens in the romantic novel or story or autobiography — you are simply wrong. . . . You distort history *because* you need a historical myth of progress to justify a method which is not yet able to justify itself by its results.'

Barthes: 'It is difficult to reply because you question my own relationship to what I say. But I will say, very recklessly and risking redoubled

blows on your part, that I never succeed in defining literary history independently of what time has added to it. In other words, I always give it a mythical dimension. For me, Romanticism includes everything that has been said about Romanticism. Consequently, the historical past acts as a sort of psycho-analysis. For me the historical past is a sort of gluey matter for which I feel an inauthentic shame and from which I try to detach myself by living my present as a sort of combat or violence against this mythical time immediately behind me. When I see something that might have happened fifty years ago, for me it already has a mythical dimension. However, in telling you this, I am not excusing anything; I am simply explaining and that does not suffice' (pp 150-151).

The position adopted by Barthes and opposed by de Man is one familiar to anyone interested in cinema criticism. It is a *politique*, an aesthetic policy, like the *politique des auteurs*.<sup>1</sup> In a *politique* the critical tasks of the present are defined by constructing a history of the art which selects favourite artists or artistic tendencies of the past, and thereby formulates a programme for the artistic creation of the future. It is therefore the *ideology* of a tendency in aesthetic production rather than a scientific aesthetic, defining the latter as a theory of the production of aesthetic effects.<sup>2</sup> Barthes distinguishes in the past between a rhetorical and a realist tradition in the interests of a literature exemplified by the work of Sollers, which is inextricably bound up with the linguistic and grammatological nature of the literary medium. The critics of the original *Cahiers du Cinéma* similarly distinguished between the current French cinema and a certain number of great cinematic authors, directors who had imposed a recognizable personal character on their films; most of these critics later became film-makers, attempting to be authors themselves to their own prescriptions. And the accusation against Barthes made by de Man is the same as the one frequently directed at those critics who propose a *politique des auteurs* — that it is an irrational cultism justified by a mythical history of the art. Barthes's answer is significant here: an art includes everything that has been written about it — ie criticism is part of the work. Hence mythology is unavoidable, and the critic is a future writer. As he puts it elsewhere, 'the meaning of a work (or of a text) cannot constitute itself by itself; the author only ever produces presumptions of meaning, forms, if you like, and it is the world that fills them. . . . The novel is always the critic's horizon: the critic is the one who is going to write' (*Essais Critiques*, Paris 1964, pp 9 and 18). But this continuity between artistic work, criticism and artistic production presupposes another continuity, a continuity of medium. Because the author uses the same means of communication, the same tenses, persons, pronouns as the critic, there is a constant interpenetration and inter-play between the two activities. Barthes's *politique* is not a *politique des auteurs*, but a *politique de la littérature*. This con-

tinuity of language is absent from the cinema critic's field. Hence the etiolation of the concept of the cinematic *auteur*, which easily degenerates into a *Weltanschauung* or a merely forceful personal style, a tendency vulnerable to the pure cultism and hero-worship of the MacMahonites. There is no theory of cinematicity corresponding to Barthes's theory of literariness to unite the *politique*, because there is no continuity of medium between the criticism and its object.

This distinction might be overcome if it could be shown that the cinema is a coded art like a language and hence that the continuity of criticism and production is present, with a mere translation between the two, like criticism in a different language than the original. Many people have attempted to use the acquisitions of modern linguistics to develop a semiology of film, most notably Christian Metz, Umberto Eco, Pier Paolo Pasolini and Peter Wollen.<sup>3</sup> However, all these writers advise caution in the application of concepts adapted to verbal language to the cinematic sign. Are the properties of verbal language which concern Barthes and Todorov found in the cinema?

Considering the wide range of reference of the philosophical discussions in this book it is perhaps surprising that the articles by Todorov and Barthes are based on a few short articles by Emile Benveniste — 'Les relations du temps dans le verbe français', 'La nature des pronoms' (included in his *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, Paris 1966)<sup>4</sup> — and Roman Jakobson's famous *Shifters, Verbal Categories and the Russian Verb* (Cambridge, Mass, 1967).<sup>5</sup> All these articles are concerned with the problems of indexes or indexical signs: in particular with pronouns and the tenses of verbs. It has long been known that the first and second personal pronouns are meaningless except as indexes of a real person, the speaker or the person addressed. Benveniste and Jakobson stress that they are *both* indexes and symbols, what Jakobson calls 'shifters', because they shift between message and code. Only a French speaker knows that 'je' is the (arbitrary) word for the index first person subject. What characterizes a shifter is not primarily the fact that it refers to someone outside the speech act, but that it is an element of the code or *langue* which can only be understood in relation to the message or *parole*. As Benveniste puts it, "'I" is the individual who is uttering the present instance of speech containing the linguistic instance "I"' (*Problèmes . . .*, p 252). Adverbs like 'here', 'now', 'yesterday', 'today', are also symbol-indexes and shifters, for the same reason (they can only be understood in relation to the speech-act in which they occur). So, finally, and in the same way, are the tenses of verbs. These symbol-indexes are essential to all linguistic utterance. It is their properties, in particular their ambiguities, which make possible the literature which Barthes and Todorov are advocating. But are they found in the cinema? Is there anything cinematic corresponding to pronouns or tenses?

It has been suggested that the cinema is the indexical medium *par excellence*. As the index is defined by Peirce (and following him, by Jakobson) as existentially linked to the object it represents, a photograph would seem a clear case of an index. For Peirce, the photograph is a 'quasi-predicate' composed by light as a 'quasi-subject', as Macksey remarks (p 155). But if we insist on describing the photograph and hence the photographic film as a quasi-index, we should take the 'quasi' seriously. The term index comes from the act of pointing with the finger. This gesture is, in fact, a symbol-index. However existential its relation to its object, it is ultimately conventional (it would be possible to reverse the convention so that the object indicated was in fact in the direction of the wrist rather than that of the end of the finger). It is this arbitrariness which makes language discussable as a human activity independently of its objects, and it is this which makes a literature of literariness possible, and hence a structuralist criticism. The pointed finger has this property, the photograph does not. As Metz has it, the cinema is not doubly articulated. Hence it would seem to be preferable to stop talking about the photograph in terms of linguistic signs at all, and say, as Metz does, that the photograph is in a relation of analogy to the real object it represents, in the form of a more or less complete illusion.

If we can ignore the 'quasi-indexical' character of the photographic image, are there real symbol-indexes in the cinema, like pronouns or tenses? At first sight it would seem that the subject looking at the film through the window of the screen was a permanent first person, like a first person narration in a novel. But such a first person also takes part in the story, however marginally, whereas the viewing subject of a film is completely non-participatory — he is not addressed unless the narrative is suspended for satirical purposes. Cinematic narrative is far closer to an impersonal 'third' person (as in 'it is raining', etc) than to a first person. Similarly, the cinema might seem to be in a permanent present tense (flash-backs are clearly not analogous to a past tense, their past tense being indicated syntagmatically at their introduction into the film rather than by any change in the signs indicating the actions within the flash-back). But when narrative films are introduced by a written or spoken preface, this is nearly always in the past tense (in Dreyer's *Gertrud*, a character's thoughts are described in his voice *in the past tense*, while his face reflects the emotions thus described, and the device, though unusual, certainly does not seem *ungrammatical*). The film is *indifferent* to tense, as it was to person.

Hence film seems to have no relation to the index-symbols of verbal language, and thus the kind of developments in literature and in literary criticism described as structuralist seem completely irrelevant to it. But

that leaves one paradox: the fiction film as it has developed until now has drawn on and developed a *literary* tradition, that of the story or novel. If cinematic narration has nothing to do with verbal language, how has this transfer of material been possible? Why did film not develop its own unique content? Here a second idea of Benveniste's discussed by Todorov and Barthes is of interest. As is well known, modern French has a tense, the aorist (eg 'il fit', 'he did'), which only occurs in writing, never in speech. It might seem that the aorist is a form of speech undergoing erosion, still present in the more formal written language, already gone from the more fluid spoken language. Benveniste shows, however, that the difference is a synchronic one, not a diachronic one. The aorist in written language shows no signs of disappearing; it is still used even in translations from the English, which has no such tense distinction. The difference reflects a basic difference between two types of utterance which he calls *discours* and *histoire*. The former is characteristic of conversation and implicates the speaker and the person spoken to. The latter is characteristic of the writing of history or telling a story, and has no connection with the speaker. The former is characterized by the occurrence fairly frequently of all three persons and of the use of all tenses save the aorist. The latter is characterized by the use of the third person alone, in most cases, and the use of aorist, imperfect, plu-perfect and 'prospective' ('he was to have done') tenses alone. In fact, the time indicated by the language of *histoire* is not one behind the narrator, but one indifferent to him — science fiction is written in the aorist tense. Similarly, the third person is not a person like the first and second and defined in relation to them, it is a non-person, an impersonal, while the third-person pronoun is merely an abbreviation for a noun or proper name. Hence the language of *histoire* is characterized by the indifference to the narrator of its use of tenses, persons and pronouns. In the writing of modern fiction, this distinction is not so easy to apply, as Todorov shows, using an example from Proust (pp 130-131). The narrator can shift rapidly, often in mid-sentence, between the two registers and intermingle them, changing verbal forms frequently and using pronouns to imply complex degrees of identification with the events narrated. This development is what gives rise to the structuralist literature Barthes and Todorov are interested in and, in effect, advocate. But the opposition does show how film, without tenses, persons or pronouns, can handle the narrative structure of classical realistic fiction. The tenses of *histoire* and its basic person and pronoun, the so-called 'third person', are characterized precisely by their indifference, their absence of any mark of tense or person. They are atemporal and impersonal. Hence they can easily be accommodated in film, which is atemporal and impersonal for other reasons.<sup>6</sup>

Thus it is quite logical for Barthes to say: 'I find it difficult to be



intellectually interested in the cinema, for example. Precisely because the cinema is an art that was born during a period dominated by an aesthetic and a general ideology of the naturalistic type. The cinema has still not made the experiment of a coded art. It is simply the problem of an entire code, of an entirely "constituted" code' (p 154). A 'structuralist' cinema and a 'structuralist' criticism of the cinema like that of Barthes and Todorov is impossible.

However, this does not mean that the cinema critic must throw in the sponge and give up the investigation of the problem of cinematic language. At least three fruitful avenues of research have been opened up by the authors I mentioned above, though perhaps it would be wiser to refer to the results as a *rhetoric* rather than a *semiology* of the cinema.

1. 'The structural analysis of narrativity itself, ie of the story considered independently of the vehicles which carry it — films, books, etc' (Metz, op cit, p 144). Examples of this are Todorov's *Grammaire du Décameron* (Mouton, Paris 1969) for a semantic analysis of the plots of the stories in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, along the lines of Propp's *Morphology of the Folk-tale* (University of Texas, 1968); and Claude Brémont's more detailed studies of narrative techniques in the magazine *Communications*.

2. What the ancient rhetoricians referred to as *dispositio*, the arrangement of the structures of narrativity in the film itself. This is Metz's *grande syntagmatique du film*. It depends on 1. because, as Metz remarks, 'the cinema, which might have had many uses, is in fact usually used to *tell stories*, to the extent that even theoretically non-narrative films (documentaries, educational shorts, etc) essentially conform to the same semiological mechanisms as the "main film"' (op cit, p 144). Hence 'it is difficult to decide if the broad syntagmatics of the film concerns the *cinema* or rather the cinematographical *story*. For all the units we have discussed can be registered *in* the film but *with respect* to the plot' (p 145).

3. The problem of what Metz calls 'connotation' and Peter Wollen the 'iconic sign'. For Metz, connotation is opposed to denotation, the direct analogy between the image on the film and the object of which it is a photograph. Every other significance the image has is a connotation. 'Connotation in the cinema is always *symbolic* in nature: the signified motivates the signifier but goes beyond it' (p 113).<sup>7</sup> Symbols in films are of two kinds: those that attach to the object photographed because of its associational significance in some non-cinematic code known to the film-maker and his audience (what Pasolini calls the '*im-segno*'), and those that are produced syntagmatically in the film itself. A cross as a sign of Christianity is an example of the first, a tune whistled by a

character which recurs later in the same film to indicate him is an example of the second. Peter Wollen's more general use of 'icon' refers to the general character of visual signs that they are in some sense 'like' what they signify. Both terms are limited, it seems to me, in that they narrow down the connection between sign and signified to one of metonymy alone. I would envisage rather a theory of visual signs containing all possible rhetorical links — metonymy, of course, but also metaphor, opposition, hyperbole, even paranomoasia, etc etc. This immediately raises the problem of the ambiguity of the visual sign, and hence the constant need for *interpretation* in order to understand it. To understand a visual sign, ie to know its signified, the signifier alone is insufficient: it is also necessary to have some indication of what connection there is between signifier and signified. Such connections, unlike that of signifier and signified in verbal language, are subject to historical change, as Foucault shows in his book *Les Mots et les Choses* (English translation *The Order of Things*, Tavistock, London 1970). Finally, interpretation involves the reference of the signs to an ideology to which they belong, which need not be shared or believed by the film-maker and his audience, but must be comprehensible to them.<sup>8</sup>

Linguistics can thus contribute much to the study of the cinema, but only in so far as the great differences between cinematic rhetoric and verbal language are constantly borne in mind. The structuralism that Barthes and Todorov propose for literature passes the cinema by, both for film-makers and for film critics; but as they watch it speed past, they can learn from it in order to advance more quickly and surely in their own, different, path.

#### REFERENCES

1. Sarris's translation 'auteur theory' is incorrect. In the second chapter of his *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*, Peter Wollen outlines a real auteur 'theory' — he uses the concept of an author to break with the empirical appreciation of films and to construct a scientific theory of them. But this is a different project than that of the *Cahiers* critics.
2. In *Pour une théorie de la production littéraire* (Paris 1966), Pierre Macherey uses this as a stick with which to beat Barthes, quoting Plato's *Ion*, where Socrates persuades Ion that anyone who is a good judge of one painter's work must be a good judge of another's. But when asked by Socrates if it was possible for a man who understood the work of Polygnotus to be unable to appreciate other painters, instead of answering 'No, by Zeus, certainly not!', Ion could easily have answered 'Yes!'. We all know people who are illuminating when they talk about Ford, Hawks and Walsh, but have a blind spot when it comes to Dwan. The relations between ideological criticisms and scientific criticisms is more complex than Macherey will allow.
3. See Christian Metz: *Essais sur la signification au cinéma*, Editions Klinck-

sieck, Paris 1968; Umberto Eco: *Appunti per una semiologia delle comunicazioni visive*, Bompiani, Milan 1967; Pier Paolo Pasolini: 'Il cinema di poesia' in the film-script of *Uccellacci e uccellini*, Garzanti, Milan 1966; and Peter Wollen: *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*, Secker and Warburg and BFI, Cinema One Series No 9, London 1969.

4. Perhaps I should add: 'Actif et moyen dans le verbe.' It is this article that provides the title and theme of Barthes's paper: 'To Write: Intransitive Verb?'. He argues not only that the verb 'to write' has become an intransitive active verb ('What does he do?' 'He writes'), but that it is possibly evolving into a *middle voice* verb. It is well known that the most primitive opposition within the voices of Indo-European verbs is that between active voice and middle voice, while passive voice is a later derivation of the latter. Benveniste argues that the semantic equivalent of the grammatical opposition between active and middle voice is 'external diathesis' (the subject is outside the process initiated) and 'internal diathesis' (the subject is part of the process he initiates). The middle voice is almost entirely absent from modern English, but it is familiar in Latin deponents, and in French verbs which take *être* rather than *avoir* as an auxiliary in the perfect. Hence Barthes foresees a time when it will be possible to say '*je suis écrit*' rather than, as at present, '*j'ai écrit*'. Writing is no longer an external activity of the subject, but rather a process always implicating and including him (like being born and dying, verbs which are typically in the middle voice).
5. In the references are to European structural linguistics. Ruwet, on the other hand, is a transformationalist. However, his paper, most of which is devoted to an analysis of Baudelaire's sonnet *La Géante*, is very similar to the famous analysis of *Les Chats* by Lévi-Strauss and Jakobson, and Jakobson's more recent study of *Tb' Expense of Spirit* (Humanities Press, 1970). As Ruwet himself remarks, it is very difficult to apply transformational grammar to poetics, since (among other things) 'poetry is presently characterized by the violation of certain rules which are normally obligatory' (p 304). Jakobson, of course, began his career as the *zaum* (trans-sense) poet Alyagrov, and hence knows all about this aspect of poetry, and his own linguistics and poetics is precisely oriented towards the possibility of analysing it.
6. Another form of the same argument would compare the cinematic utterance with the use of direct speech in the novel. Once again, tense and pronoun are indifferent to the tense and pronoun used in the surrounding indirect narrative. These two very different analogies are both applicable precisely because this is an argument by analogy. The cinema is not direct speech or the aorist tense — it shares their characteristics of indifference to the act of utterance and hence is sufficiently like them to facilitate the transition from an aorist-dominated literature frequently using direct speech to a cinematic fiction. In fact, realist and naturalist literature sought to be cinematic *ante diem*, much as early nineteenth century illusionist painting provoked the invention of the photograph. Daguerre was the owner of a painted panorama.
7. NB this use of 'symbol' and 'symbolic' should not be confused with Peirce's use of 'symbol' for an arbitrary sign.
8. All these problems of interpretation arise for verbal language too, but with respect to the relation between signified and referent rather than the relation between signifier and signified. That is why I have preferred to call this approach to the cinema a rhetoric rather than semiology. The classical literary rhetoric is a study of the relation between the sign and the referent. The sign (signifier-cum-signified) 'pig' may refer to a domestic animal or a policeman. Which of the two it is, is a matter of rhetoric.

## Reviews...

*Horror in the Cinema*, and *The Cinema of Roman Polanski*, Ivan Butler (A. Zweinmer Ltd [A. S. Barnes, NY] 15s)

At the beginning of *Horror in the Cinema* Ivan Butler, having told us that the book 'is not intended solely as a study of what is sometimes loosely described as the "Horror Film", but rather as a consideration of the use of horror . . . in the cinema as a whole' goes on to classify the use of horror as follows:

- (a) films in which horror is the be-all and (often alas) the end-all;
- (b) films in which horror is an essential ingredient but not the only or chief one;
- (c) films which contain certain moments or sequences of horror;
- (d) films which set out to study naturalistic subjects or situations where horror is inherent;
- (e) in a slightly different class, documentaries or newsreels of actual events horrible in themselves.

This totally arid classification (which, incidentally, once made is forgotten by the author) exemplifies the source of one's dismay with Ivan Butler's 'critical' stance. For him horror (and indeed every other convention or style in the cinema) is simply a *technique* independent of the way an artist might look at the world or respond to the society he finds himself in. Such a stance inevitably leads Butler to consider as a central critical question whether a particular sequence is or is not 'atmospheric' rather than pursue questions which are (arguably) critically more important such as defining the themes and iconography of the horror film or working out why the figure of the decadent European aristocrat (socially as well as sexually predatory) should recur so markedly in the genre from *Dracula* to the Corman-Poe cycle. With such a narrow perspective and with so much ground to cover (twelve chapters in one hundred and thirty pages plus a fifty-five page annotated chronology of films) it is hardly surprising that Mr Butler has produced a collection of plot summaries and critical 'pass or fail's' which will be useful only for checking dates.

*The Cinema of Roman Polanski* has pretensions to greater weight and, to be fair, it is clear that Butler has viewed Polanski's work industriously and read some at least of the critical writing on him. But, once more, it is Butler's critical stance, in which the cinema is seen as a technique which the director might, more or less arbitrarily, deploy, which is in doubt. The question of why a book on Polanski rather than any other director is not one which Butler raises, nor does he offer a general framework of thematic and stylistic features which will help us understand the director's work. There are, it is true, several perfunctory refer-

ences to surrealism but these suggest that Polanski's surrealist images are arbitrary bits of technique used to evoke a particular mood rather than concretizations of his view of the world. (For two essays which offer some sort of framework for understanding Polanski's work see Tom Nairn's *Roman Polanski* (Cinema No 3) and Len Masterman's *Cul de Sac: Through the Mirror of Surrealism* (Screen, Vol II; No 6.) Butler's way of organizing his book is to open with a short biographical/anecdotal chapter on Polanski and then take the films in chronological order as individual units (with the occasional cross-reference from one to the other). Each of the chapters on a feature film opens with a ponderous synopsis and more than two pages of the chapter on *Repulsion* are devoted to a quite superfluous tabulation of the steps in Carol's breakdown. There is, too, a kind of literalness in response to film images which makes the book heavy going. Thus, Mr Butler on *Knife in the Water*:

'the film opens as it closes, on a long, grey, featureless road, a comment on the long, grey featureless lives of the couple travelling down it. They are carried along in the enclosed airlessness of their 'rather good car' as in their enclosed, airless marital relationship.

It is difficult to know whether this implies a defect of sensibility, taste or critical method on the part of the writer. We might go to *The Cinema of Roman Polanski* for information but certainly not for critical stimulation.

Colin McArthur

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## Books received

*Art in Movement: New directions in animation*, John Halas and Roger Manvel (Studio Vista, 5gns)

*The American Musical*, Tom Vallance (A. Zwemmer/A. S. Barnes, 21s/\$3.50)

*Jean Cocteau*, René Gilson,

*Sergei Eisenstein*, Lèon Moussinac, and

*Frederico Fellini*, Gilbert Salachas (Crown Publishers, NY, \$2.95)

*Film: the Creative Eye*, David A. Sohn (Geo A. Pflaum, Dayton, Ohio)

*French Film*, Roy Armes (Studio Vista, 15s/\$2.25)

*The Gangster Film*, Felix Bucher (Screen Series A. Zwemmer/A. S. Barnes, 25s)

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*Le jour se lève* (Classic Film Scripts, Lorrimer, 15s)

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## TV Studies

# An Introduction to a Critique of Television

Ashley Pringle

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The enormous impact of television on the national culture has occasioned a wide-ranging debate whose subject matter, conduct and conclusions has become as predictable as those engaged in the debate at its most public are stereotyped and select. There is a suggestion that this debate has been originated in order to 'deal with' the subject as if it were a particularly troublesome delinquent, whose disposal was being decided by a group of magisterial veterans, earnestly frowning over the problem with an air of studied, laborious, and, at a distance, rather comic concern.

It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that something whose use is as widespread as that of television might have been ignored and simply left to develop in a quite arbitrary fashion, but the concentration of critical attention on the role of the medium makes it all the more astonishing that no unique methodology suited to study of the complexities of television and its relations to the public at any given time has been developed, and that those studies which are available tend to be drawn from quite separate critical traditions, whose groundwork and aesthetic theory was completed and empirically exemplified with regard to other, older forms; and only applied to television by virtue of the orientation of the critic (indeed, many of these critics turned with reluctance and apprehension to television). When Marshall McLuhan in *Understanding Media* turned attention to those ways in which television might be regarded as demanding a kind of attention it was not receiving, his tactical overstatement of his case caused 'the more lineal and literal-minded of the literary brahmins' to react with a mixture of defensive hostility and perplexity. As the first writer to present a detailed statement of the new aesthetic, McLuhan was himself very much on the offensive:

They prefer not to participate in the creative process. They have accommodated themselves to the complete packages, in prose and verse and in the plastic arts. It is these people who must confront in every classroom in the

land students who have accommodated themselves to the tactile and non-pictorial modes of symbolist and mythic structures, thanks to the TV image.

Of course, the influence of the representatives of literary or higher culture upon attitudes to television is well-known, and characteristically formed an important mainspring of the mass society debate. This will be discussed in more detail later, but an important extension of this thesis was the notion of 'privatization', in which public discussion, older forms of leisure and the characteristically communal quality of working-class life were being replaced by an inward-looking, domestic-oriented culture dominated by television viewing. While some development of this kind is implicit in the actual act of watching television, the extent to which this has pervaded the whole culture requires examination, and this is the theme of this article. The variation in experiences of the viewing audience, and the different meanings drawn from televised images indicate the difficulty of making easy generalizations of a crudely obvious kind, but at the same time, they make for a rich field of study, whose primacy is undeniable.

At its most general level, considered as a medium, television has traditionally been regarded in terms of three units; the producers, the product itself and the consumers. These may be called 'cultural' units, since the actions and interactions of the three are enclosed within a wider, more amorphous, but nevertheless recognizable entity, the culture. Two points arise from this: firstly, when we study television, we are studying the culture as a whole; and secondly, since the three units must exist together, critical attention needs to consider them as a whole, otherwise the depth of meaning indicated by the powerful hold of television escapes the attention, and we lose sight of an important determinant and indicator of cultural action. In terms of its development television is most simply a substitute for other media, from which it draws much of its format, many of its staple programmes and, as mentioned earlier, the critical traditions directed at it. Thus, from the theatre, one finds plays, live presentation and, indirectly, the 'theatre' which is sport. From the cinema, filmed material and the basis for use of visual imagery, from the book, the narrative structure of much of the material and from radio the very basis of the broadcasting programme. In terms of the producers and the product, television is perhaps nearest to radio, but as McLuhan points out, there is a striking difference in the experience involved in 'consuming' the two media:

TV is a cool, participant medium. . . . Radio is a hot medium . . . it doesn't invite the same degree of participation in its users. Radio will serve as a background sound or as a noise-level control, as when the ingenious teenager employs it as a means of privacy. TV . . . engages you. You have to be 'with' it.<sup>2</sup>



The position at present, however, is not one to inspire confidence in the likelihood of television criticism receiving the impetus provoked by McLuhan with any degree of enthusiasm. The main source of dialogue between television and its critics is found in the Press. It is disturbing to note how easily much of this writing permits itself to be dismissed. The tabloids virtually ignore the subject entirely, while losing no opportunity to indulge in the mythology created by popular series such as 'Coronation Street' and 'Till Death Us Do Part' in a way which forms an interesting adjunct to empirical analysis but makes no contribution to that analysis itself. Other critics, particularly in the 'quality' papers, express an aesthetic derived from the most simplistic elitism associated with literary culture (T. C. Worsley, Maurice Wiggin), while the majority seem, apart from the occasional penetrating observation, to adopt a deliberately ephemeral, cheerful dilettante approach designed to foreground their own affectedly 'unpretentious' (the most common term in television journalism) personalities (Nancy Banks-Smith, George Melly). In virtually every instance, television is turned to as a secondary interest, a realm to be patronized from the standpoint of the lowest critical denominator; the critics' own disposition and personal quirks. T. C. Worsley in his recent publication, *Television: the ephemeral art* presents the best efforts in this field which we have available. This book consists of articles written over a period for the *Financial Times*, and brings to attention many interesting and worthwhile value judgements, written in detail about individual landmarks in television history. The book reveals the potential of the relationship between television and journalism; data can be examined while it is having its social impact and depth of response can steadily be built up towards the understanding of what television is. This contemporaneity of apprehension and response is, I will argue, central to the documentation of television as a cultural form. Undoubtedly, Worsley's aesthetic is short-sighted, and he fails to take account of this potential; his purpose is to have television regarded as a static art-form, subject to the traditional elitist premises of the mass society argument:

Art is not a democracy run on the proportional representation principle. No referendum will decide the worth of a work. Only time will do that. Posterity is the ultimate judge. Meanwhile the critic makes his assessment of what posterity will decide, and he makes it on the basis of training and experience. . . .<sup>3</sup>

The other body of work of any size approaches television from a sociological perspective. In his account of the development of this discipline, Denis McQuail rightly suggests that mass communication research was considerably stimulated by a sense of discontent with the mass society line:

What conditions of modern society promote the high levels of media use and determine the form it characteristically takes? Mass society theory with its prognosis of a trend towards totalitarianism, its adherence to elitist standards and its inconsistency with much evidence seems not to provide a satisfactory answer.<sup>4</sup>

Much painstaking and honourable work has been carried out at Leicester University under the direction of J. D. Halloran, who characterizes the researcher of this type thus :

. . . an investigator rather than a debater, a curious if cautious character who is not known for his involvement or commitment.<sup>5</sup>

Much use can be made of the material evolved by mass communication research, but the very caution and reserve which a sociological approach necessarily imposes may well restrict the discernment of those cultural tendencies associated with television which I have suggested should claim the attention of critics. The advances that may result from engagement in the potentialities of a wide-ranging and bravely intuitive eclecticism tend to be stunted by the dealing with small areas and fixed questions governed by rigid assumptions about the place of television intrinsic to the available sociological methods :

Television may provide models for identification, confer status on people and behaviour, spell out norms, define new situations, provide stereotypes, set frameworks of anticipation and indicate levels of acceptability, tolerance and approval.<sup>6</sup>

The three terms with which this quotation is closed indicate the intellectual ancestry of mass communication sociology, being drawn from the vocabulary of liberal values and English empiricism, and suggest the reason why the approach seems at once so imposed and so inappropriate to the study, especially when the other aspect of mass communications, popular culture, is mentioned; it belongs to a quite alien cultural context. A further general criticism of mass communication sociology is that it offers generous help in locating and identifying the contexts in which the units of producers and consumers operate, while being very naïve and conventional in studying the content of the product itself. Thus, in a study of the sociology of television production, Philip Elliott and David Chaney indicate the limits of sociology, providing a theoretical model for the operation of television production in which the resources of the discipline seem to have been used to their ultimate extent in the conclusion :

The programme is built up of components which gradually acquire greater detail and which stand in a relationship of entailment to each other through either the technical or stylistic possibilities of the medium.<sup>7</sup>

Any more definite or particular statement would entail the business of programme criticism, cultural analysis and the adoption of an aesthetic; all outside the realms of their endeavour. Mass communication research is normally concerned with the externally obvious effects of television with a view to effecting piecemeal changes rather than deriving a total synthesis or aesthetic theory.

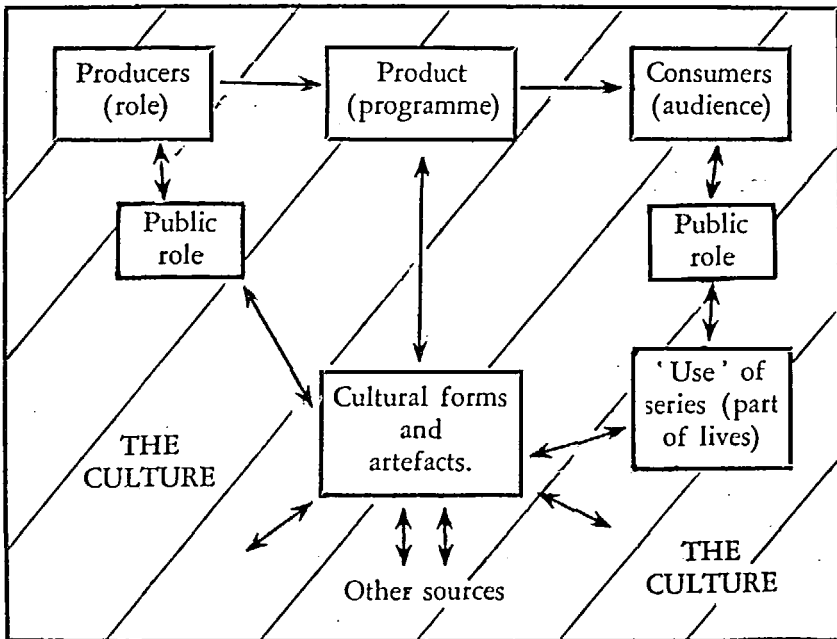
The most evident feature of television's output is its tendency to the series form. This is a condition not only of the programmes themselves, but of the viewers' habits and the project of television production as it has developed from radio. There are several important advantages of this form, especially in the realms of drama series, quite apart from notions of 'entertainment', which tend only to relate to the class positions of those using the term, and give no information about the experience of viewing the programme in question. The series has the ability to present 'rounded' characters, real or fictional, known to the audience in such a familiar way as to recall McLuhan's 'global village' notion. Secondly, just as images of individual people can be made familiar to the audience, so can locales, stock settings, clothing and other objects, to take on the form of an iconography. The familiarity is also, though less consciously, present in terms of plot structure, and the viewer's response can be altered by subtle variations in this. Fourthly, the series can show different aspects of the same subject matter, and frequently becomes engaged in subjects of closely contemporary relevance, which can be dealt with in a quite poignant fashion. Perhaps most significantly, however, the familiarity with a large audience which a series can develop leads to public discussion, a very useful indicator of the relationship of television to the life and actions of communities or individuals. As a simple example, the catch phrase which 'catches on' can indicate much to the attentive observer of the pace and style of life of those using the phrase; thus 'Sock it to me!' seems so close to the slick, speedy, rhythmic quality of American national popular culture, along with 'Shoot, baby', 'Like crazy', and scores of comic strip colloquialisms 'pow', 'Zapp' and 'Whoosh', while a phrase like 'Yer silly old moo' reflects the British preference for dialect-humour, associated with the sense of a strongly differentiated set of regional traditions in behaviour, as reflected in language and humour, as well as an emphasis *on* the emphasis of such phrases in speech, while the American traditionally underplays the catch phrase, a negative use being made of the character differentiation pointed out by the phrases.

This 'public discussion' is a highly informal, unstructured, spontaneous phenomenon, which requires very careful observation, otherwise it evades analysis. As McLuhan suggests:

. . . the student of media . . . gets more data from his informants than they themselves have perceived. Everybody experiences more than he understands.

Yet it is experience, rather than understanding, that influences behaviour, especially in collective matters of media and technology, where the individual is almost inevitably unaware of their effect upon him.<sup>8</sup>

The study that this essay wishes to initiate is thus one which combines close structural analysis of the medium of television with eclectic apprehension of cultural developments. The model offered below suggests the kinds of relations that may be regarded as relevant for consideration when these twin forms of analysis are being carried out; it is not intended as a model for the procedure adopted as this would be too restrictive and/or suggestive of details included. The cultural or social elements invoked in the study form the context for the means of production of the series, and the audience 'use' of it, while the structural elements reveal the meanings implicit in the history of the series, its origins, iconography, locale, personality-images and plot structure.

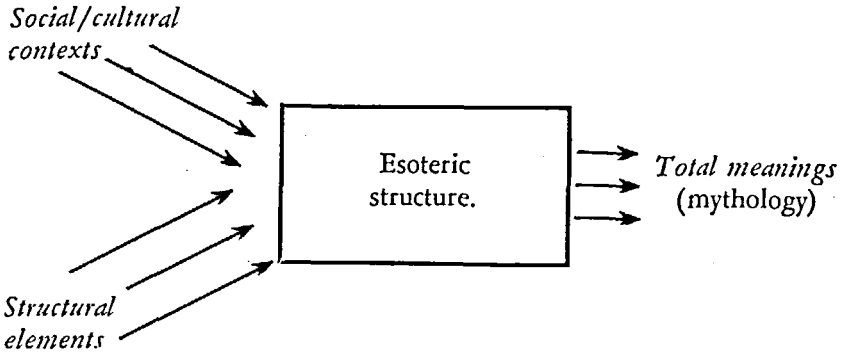


1. Model for the position of television within the national culture

The most important feature of this model is the inter-related way in which each unit, in so far as they can be meaningfully isolated in this way, 'feeds' on the adjacent one, thus although the producer-product-consumer process, which some studies isolate from the rest of the process, is one-way, the whole is a modified circular complex. Thus, an awareness of the cross-fertilization of the structural elements and the cultural elements referred to above reveals an esoteric structure, whose total meaning is dynamic and impossible to isolate at any one time, thus

giving it an irrational, amorphous quality of the order of a mythology. As McQuail notes of a similar study by Edgar Morin :

The cultural industry is seen to provide the modern equivalent of the themes of myth and romance which offer archetypal patterns to guide the human spirit. Morin (1960). While these suggestions are scarcely testable hypotheses, they are at least not inconsistent with evidence made available from the studies of audience gratifications so far carried out.<sup>9</sup>



## 2. The study of television as culture: procedure for fictional series

This combination of close study and large integrative theses, as the next stage in the contribution to understanding television, *pace* McLuhan, clearly requires an example from the practical business of television criticism, 'Till Death Us Do Part', written by Johnny Speight, was popular, controversial and, for a long time, widely favoured critically, thus providing an easily available object for the kind of study desirable. A brief examination is thus given below to indicate the richness of available material, and the kinds of statement we might offer for discussion (no *final* analysis is possible, of course, but all contributions have value).

The structure of 'Till Death' was built around the four-character interplay of Alf, Mike, Else and Rita, each having a predictable reaction to actions of the others; Alf reactionary, Mike radical, Rita conciliatory and Else a 'cabbage', passive and perplexed. The build up of minor jokes leads to a climax, usually followed by a catharsis of violent verbal comedy, obscenities usually expressing this. In one scene, Alf wishing to grow his hair again, covers his head with paraffin. Mike, finding him asleep, paints a comic face on his bald patch. Unfortunately, Alf goes out to the pub and becomes a laughing stock. The conventional humour is of the mistaken identity type, revolving round hair as a complex symbol of potency, youth, and through Mike, association with the contemporary fashion for Liverpool against Alf's east end of London. The humour (and hence the most intensely dramatic moment) is at a pitch when Alf discovers the truth, juxtaposed with his assumption that the laughter had been directed at Mike's long hair :

Yer, talk about laugh. No, but he's a good boy. He took it well. . . . But it was a laugh though, it was a laugh (looks in mirror . . . pause . . . yells) Who done it? Who bloody done it? I'll kill 'em! I'll kill 'em! <sup>10</sup>

This is typical for the pattern of each programme; rising to a pitch, exploding and falling away to another scene. The poignancy, in contemporary terms of the above scene hardly needs further pointing out. The iconography of the series is of much interest, providing as it did, a stimulating and complex identification symbol for Britain in the sixties; this was worked on by writer and producers, but it soon left their control, and virtually gained an organic existence in the public use of these objects. The back-to-back house, dismal and depressing though it was designed to appear, carried with it much of the sentimentality of those for whom it held personal meanings in their own experience. The toilet, too, intended as a symbol of poverty, was more commonly taken as a working class/music-hall comic institution, therefore providing the complex social and sentimental bond between Alf and his audience. The fact that Alf himself became a popular figure testified to the way in which the producers had lost their product. Tom Sloan appeared on 'Talkback' to offer an attack on Alf as an institution from a liberal middle-class perspective; it was almost an emotional appeal, coming as it did adjacent to the emerging Marcusean notion of the 'reactionary working class' and the skinhead life-style, which owed more than is often realized to the persona of Speight's anti-hero. The series crystallized the re-emergence of London's East End and the characteristic mythology of community and sentimentality represented at its height by Marie Lloyd and later Bud Flanagan as a still potent determinant in English culture. The establishment-inspired demise of the show contributed to the myth, but much of its language and the style of new militancy (the London dockers who marched in support of Enoch Powell), of the exploited, abused and finally patronized urban proletariat, the community most distant from decision-making and its articulate liberal middle-class challenge were suddenly brought into vivid focus, particularly poignant being the immediacy of the contemporary issues each edition dealt with as a sub-plot.

A more precise analysis could only be adequately carried out at the time of the series, and the above simply suggests some fruitful lines of inquiry. The details of how the series influenced speech-habits, personal relationships, television styles, the public's image of itself and the impact of such a series in adequate depth, with particular reference to viewers' structures of experience, can only be established by sensitive empirical inquiry.

It might be argued that the methodology I have presented here indicates a too uncritical reception of McLuhan's still controversial dicta about

television. Since I hold that no comparable endeavour has been attempted and that little critical discussion of his work beyond the glibly dismissive exists, and since I am at one with him in the belief that

One can say of media as Robert Theobald has said of economic depressions: 'There is one additional factor that has helped to control depressions, and that is a better understanding of their development.'<sup>11</sup>

I make only a partial apology for this; where a study of such immediacy and urgency awaits development, elucidation and exposition should precede any categorical aesthetic, particularly one with a value basis. This essay is a very preliminary suggestion as to the most valuable course such a study might take.

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5. J. D. Halloran (ed), *The Effects of Television*, p 11, Panther, 1970.
6. *Ibid*, p 11.
7. Philip Elliot and David Chaney, 'A Sociological Framework for the Study of Television Production', *Sociological Review*, Vol 17, No 3, 1969.
8. McLuhan, *op cit*, p 340.
9. McQuail, *op cit*, p 78.
10. Johnny Speight, *Till Death us do Part*, p 47, Pan, 1967.
11. McLuhan, *op cit*, p 14.

## Recent Books

*The Effects of Television*. Edited by James D. Halloran (Panther, 10s)

*Television and Delinquency*, James D. Halloran, R. L. Brown and D. C. Chaney (Leicester University Press, 30s)

The importance of these two books lies in the fact that without being in any way revolutionary they do mark a distinct development in academic television research. Their titles are perhaps unfortunate, suggesting as they do that TV and delinquency might go together like a horse and carriage, and that TV may have quantifiable 'effects' (brainwashing? immorality? keeping people off the streets at night?). But a sizeable proportion of the content goes some way towards qualifying this first impression of empirical social science in the service of traditional morality. J. D. Halloran, for instance, in the introduction to *The Effects of Television*: 'One of the major difficulties which we have to face is that research into the effects of television, in fact mass communication research generally, has been handicapped by lack of theory. Theory has failed to keep pace with techniques, doing has prevailed over thinking. This is not unconnected with the fact that a great deal of mass communication research has been motivated by administrative, service or commercial requirements. Generally, this work has been descriptive rather than analytical, it has not sought to test hypotheses and it has rarely taken sociological or psychological theories as a starting point.'

In so far as it relates directly to television, Halloran sees this basically dispiriting situation as the produce of a debate dominated by three species of clerks, or perhaps we should say executives: the intellectual critic/academic elitist, firmly committed to highbrow culture and therefore not a real friend of TV; the practical media man, 'capable of rationalizing any conflict' between his concern for professional standards and his concern for success as defined in business terms; and the social scientist, a desperately cautious figure prone to using 'the most obscure language to relate the obvious' and by no means above the suspicion of having sold out to the media executive. We could add two further factors: the failure of TV practitioners themselves to develop anything like a theory, or even a coherent code of practice, and the propensity of 'decision-makers', whether versed in TV or not, to discuss it principally in terms of technology. In the vacuum caused by the fumbblings of these worthies, the notion of effects (which has given us Mary Whitehouse) and the practice of quantitative head-counting could flourish peacefully.

In his chapter titled 'The social effects of television' Halloran decisively undermines the crude schemas of television's 'influence'. In future, TV will have to be studied, not in terms of its influence *per se*, but rather in terms of its influence through interpersonal relationships and social



settings. TV is a part of society, its influences can only be understood in relation to other, more powerful and deeply rooted influences at work in a given society. The important factor is the process of socialization itself. Certain tendencies, certain moments in this process may or may not be confirmed by things perceived on TV, and to these possible influences the researcher should address himself.

The necessity of this revision is confirmed by *Television and Delinquency*. In many ways, this volume, which is the third working paper of the Television Research Centre, is a classic of old-style research.

It centres on a survey of the viewing habits and preferences of a group of 334 teenagers on probation. Their responses to a set questionnaire are compared closely with the responses of another group, similar in every way except for having a clean sheet with the law. They are also compared with the responses of another group described as lower middle class, by which is meant 'respectable' working-class kids with some educational and social aspirations.

Among other things, the respondents were asked: Why they watched TV, what it made them feel, what they liked it to make them feel, what sorts of programmes they really liked and disliked, and why, what people appearing on TV they particularly liked or disliked, whether there was any particular scene, incident, special thing or special moment seen on TV that 'sticks out in your memory', whether they watched TV in company, whether they were in the habit of discussing it with family or anyone else.

In general, the responses to these questions are highly inconclusive, as the authors are at pains to point out in their thoughtful introduction. Statistical significance between the three samples is often hard to find. For instance: 28 per cent of the (male) probationer sample spontaneously mentioned 'exciting', 'thrilling' or 'adventurous' as a description of ideal television fare, as did 27 per cent of the control sample and 20 per cent of the lower middle class sample. A parallel question asked the respondents for a word to describe the feeling or emotion they ideally would like TV to produce in them: here 12 per cent of probationers, 8 per cent of the control, and 5 per cent of the lower middle class came up spontaneously with 'excitement' (again all males). The report summarizes: 'once again the boys in the probationer sample gave answers of this sort more often than either of the other two, and . . . there is a linear trend from the probationers to the lower middle class boys. However, *the difference between even these two extreme groups barely reaches a level of statistical significance*' (our italics). Where there is significance, the tables tend to confirm expectations: the lower middle class boys are more likely to watch TV for purposes of interest and information, delinquency is shown to bear a strong relationship

with absent parents and with poverty, financial and cultural. In remembering TV moments that had particularly impressed them, 'male probationers were more likely to refer to an identifiable hero figure than were other boys (although only the difference between the probationer and control samples, is statistically significant).' But this line of inquiry reveals an interesting twist: if the probationers had a tendency to remember heroes, the lower middle class boys chose 'feats of prowess': 19 per cent, as against 11 per cent of probationers and 2 per cent of the control. Could there be a tie-in here, on the level of images, between the feats of prowess these 'good' boys admired on the screen and the feats of prowess they were likely to have to accomplish in realizing some of their aspirations? Another interesting sidelight in this connection: when it came to remembering heroes, the girl respondents more or less disappeared ('answer frequencies for females too low for analysis'). Is this a reflection on the fact that television shows us no genuinely aggressive heroines, or on the dispossessed condition of teenage girls in general? On both, obviously; oppression of women goes to such lengths that girls don't even make it to delinquency. They are left with pop stars, the particular moments of whose television life they don't quite recall.

The main conclusions of the report are as follows: that delinquents are less used than others to talking about television and articulating their reactions (cognitive poverty); that Schramm's polarities of 'fantasy seeking' and 'reality seeking' are to some extent justified, and that the principal line of cleavage is located between the classes and not between delinquents and non-delinquents. Being a delinquent 'intensifies tastes which are also a more general feature of the working-class subculture'. As far as television is concerned, it could be that delinquents, or some of them, use it in a justificatory or 'rationalizing' manner. There is not enough evidence for this hypothesis to be proved, as yet, though it can't be excluded either. *Television and Delinquency* tells us considerably more about delinquency, and, by extension, about the society we live in, than it does about television or about a still hypothetical relationship between television and delinquency. It seems pretty clear that this kind of research is still very inhibited when it comes to going beyond how people, be they delinquent or respectable, respond to TV, to approach analysis of the medium itself.

Roger L. Brown, in his chapter in *The Effects of Television on Television and the Arts*, asks two leading questions: Is TV really an art form? and To what degree have the *latent* potentialities of television been *in fact* realized? but singularly fails to provide anything like an answer, even in the most hypothetical terms. Social scientific research, as at present constituted, is not equipped to deal with the real problems of television. Dr Brown raises the possibility that TV may 'potentially be

increasing our *visual* sensibilities at the same time as it weakens our reliance on the printed word'. This is the point at which we need a study of how, visually, TV works, of what the signs in TV do, a study which should not be tied to the spectre of illiteracy. It is most unsatisfactory to omit this study while speculating vaguely on a possible role for TV in a supposed awakening, by (the British), 'to an awareness of their visual environment'. (This means that some people are worried about motorways.) At other points Dr Brown is all too prepared to reproduce the arguments of the more backward TV executives: 'It can well be argued that it would be wrong to use a medium such as TV, which as presently organized reaches a very large and heterogeneous audience, to transmit or discuss work which is still at an experimental stage of development.' Here one could surely expect the point to be made that no art-form has ever lived or developed without the transmission of experiments. Dr Brown makes it, but in a flat and impoverished form: 'Of course, if television never attempted something novel, then programming would rapidly become static and stale. . . .' But it's a question of living and changing, not of balance and novelty.

The chapters (in *Effects*) on politics and education treat their material with a similar dryness. Mr Peter Masson offers some useful statistics on the (narrowly-interpreted) effects of TV on cinema, the press and advertising. It is left to Dr Halloran to begin the asking of qualitative questions, and he does this to some extent in the last few pages of his chapter on social effects, when he questions the criteria of news and current-affairs coverage. 'What pictures of the world are being offered to us?'

This development in a science hitherto characterized by empirical figure-collecting should be saluted. It also draws attention to the pitifully under-developed craft of television criticism. Critics can hardly expect social scientists to do the work they themselves have failed to do. Dr Halloran himself calls for this: 'A *systematic* study of what television provides, whilst not telling us what happens to people, will tell us what is available, what there is for them to use.' He sees some hope for a possible alliance between critics who are concerned about democracy and would like to see new patterns of media ownership and control, between more critical social scientists and more concerned creative people from the media themselves. In view of the present state of British television, in which the main positive developments of the first half of the 1960s have been more or less thrown out of the window in response to various degrees of pressure, such an alliance is urgent. But it can only happen if the critics themselves establish the systematic, analytical accounts which Halloran calls for.

Christopher Williams

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# Education Notes

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## Introduction

This section of the journal has been introduced to provide a more direct link between the Society and its services on the one hand, and the teacher and the classroom on the other. Its main aim will be to bring to those engaged in film teaching information of immediate and practical help in their work.

*Screen* has always seen the servicing of the teacher as an important aspect of its activities. Setting aside a special section of the journal for this purpose it gives form and coherence to an established tradition. The journal is one part of a developing complex of services and the Notes will often best fulfil their function by simply pointing to the existence of these services and noting new materials as they arise.

New Advisory Documents, extracts and study units will be announced as they become available, where possible with some critical assessment of their usefulness in the context of education. 16 mm distribution will receive special attention and from time to time we will feature a particular distributor whose library seems to us to cater for a particular area. In this issue that place is given over to Educational and Television Films (ETV).

The Notes will also provide schools and colleges where film is taught with a regular means of keeping in touch with activities in this field. Advance notice will be given of film courses and brief reports will be published on the problems raised and discussed at these courses.

While the content of this section of the journal has been defined in general terms it will remain flexible: it is hoped that members themselves will provide the main guide to the kind of information and material which can most usefully be included.

D.M.

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## A note on the selection and use of Film Extracts

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In a recent issue of *Screen* Colin McArthur described the procedure for selecting the extracts that are available in the BFI's Distribution Library. In this note I want to raise an issue that he was only able to touch on, the critical and educational principles that lie behind extract selection. In doing this I have put the practical problems to one side. That is, in order to make my argument clearer I have assumed that it is possible to get any film material we want.

I can, perhaps, dramatize the issue I want to raise by referring to one particular extract, the extract from *They were Expendable*. The extract consists mainly of the attack on and destruction of the Japanese cruisers by the American motor torpedo boats. Anybody who saw this extract before they saw the complete film would get a misleading impression of the film. The extract suggests the film is about an American victory. In fact the film is built round one of the worst American defeats during the Second World War. Most of the sequences show the Americans in retreat with the Japanese persistently harrying them.

I don't want simply to argue that the extract is a 'wrong' one. I want to call attention to the reasons for its selection. The extract is meant to be representative of American war films, particularly those about the Second World War. These films are believed to glorify war, use violence as a simple device to create dramatic excitement without any awareness of the moral issues. This use of violence poses to be naïvely patriotic. The kind of interest in the cinema comes from a social/critical position that has dominated much of the discussion of the cinema in this country and had a particularly strong influence on film education during the late 1940s and 1950s.

If an extract were to be selected from *They were Expendable* at the present time, I don't think the same section of the film would be chosen. Guessing, I think it would be one of the retreat scenes or possibly the

sequence where the officers give a special dinner for the nurse they meet. Such an extract would reflect a different critical/educational position. This position would put more stress on aesthetic issues and less on social ones (it would be less concerned with the supposed effect of the film on the audience); it would be more director oriented than genre oriented (it would be more interested in the category 'John Ford films' than it would be in the category 'American war films').

The point I'm trying to make by this discussion of the extract from *They were Expendable* is that extract selection is not an objective or neutral activity but is made on the basis of certain critical/educational assumptions. If the whole of the BFI's extract library is looked at I think it can be seen that two different critical/educational positions have predominantly influenced the selection of extracts. The first (chronologically) was the position developed by the British adaptation and popularization of Eisenstein's ideas through the writings of Roger Manvell, Ernest Lindgren, etc. The second was the position developed when F. R. Leavis's critical ideas were translated into film criticism.

Both positions had two components. In the case of the first these were: an aesthetic component based on a technical analysis of films in terms of the idea of a film 'language' (a shot equals a word, a sequence a sentence, editing devices are the grammar); and a social component based on a concern with the supposed effects of films on their audiences. In the case of the second they were: an aesthetic component based on an interpretative analysis of films to discover the nature of the values they expressed; and a social component that was much the same as the first position's. The perfect examples of extracts selected on the basis of the first position are, the extract of the first ten shots of *Great Expectations* (aesthetic) and the extract from *They were Expendable* (social). The perfect examples of extracts selected on the basis of the second position are the extracts from *My Darling Clementine* or *Nazarin* (aesthetic) and the extracts from *The Guns of Navarone* or *The Defiant Ones* (social).

The objections to both these positions should by now be familiar to the readers of *Screen*. My purpose in this note is not to re-state them but simply to call attention to the assumptions behind the selection of extracts so that both their selection and their use can become a more conscious and considered matter than they have been in the past.

In this connection it's worth mentioning two points of educational interest. The first point is that extracts chosen on the basis of the first position tend to be short and precise illustrations of a point, eg the first ten shots of *Great Expectations*. Extracts chosen from the second position tend to be long and complex since they are meant to provide the basis for an interpretation of the whole film. In educational terms I

think there is much to be said for extracts of the first kind; extracts of the second kind confuse viewers by involving them in the narrative and then frustrating them by cutting it off at an arbitrary point and by trying to give some sense of the whole film and raising too many points. The second point is that the selection of extracts is something of a totalitarian act. An extract suggests a particular interpretation of a film or film-maker. Another extract might suggest another kind of interpretation. *But that extract is not available.* Contrast the situation with the discussion of literature. A teacher dealing with a particular interpretation of a novel or a poem can in almost all cases go back to the novel or poem and quote passages that support his interpretation.

What implications do the points I've made have for the selection and use of extracts? Two principles seem to be in conflict here. The first is that since the BFI is the only extensive source of extracts it cannot impose a particular view of the cinema or film education through its selection of extracts. That is it would be wrong to impose a view on film educationists through the control of basic teaching materials. The second is that it would be an evasion to give the illusion that all critical positions are of equal value and deserving of equal consideration. It seems to me that the only possible way to resolve the conflict is by a split. Extract selection should meet the first principle. Extracts should be chosen on the basis of a self-conscious pluralism. Any substantial critical educational position should be represented in the extract library so that teachers holding a particular position will find material that can be used to illustrate it. The second principle should be met by discussion which exposes particular critical positions making people aware of their strengths and weaknesses.

A.L.

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## New Extracts

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*Written on the Wind*, Douglas Sirk (1956)

This is the first extract to be made from a work by Douglas Sirk and its preparation is in line with the growing interest in this director. The extract chosen begins as Kyle Hadley (Robert Stack) leaves the doctor's surgery believing himself to be sterile, shows his sister Marylee (Dorothy



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Malone) picking up a petrol pump attendant and the father Jasper Hadley (Robert Keith) breaking down to lament his failure as a father. The final scenes show Jasper Hadley's death — his collapse at the top of the staircase and his fall are intercut with shots of Marylee's wild dance in her upstairs room to the deafening sound of her record player.

*La Guerre est finie*, Alain Resnais (1965)

There are now two extracts available from major films by this director: the first came from *Hiroshima mon amour*. The new extract lasts eighteen minutes and includes scenes which bear on a number of central themes. Diego (Yves Montand) is seen with the two women in his life and in the context of two revolutionary movements, the old and the new. The opening shots are of Diego and Marianne (Ingrid Thulin) stopped by a policeman for ignoring traffic lights just before she deposits a case of explosives at a left-luggage safe. Their subsequent conversation in the car centres on the possibility of a revolution beginning in Spain, she expresses hope, and he disillusionment. Diego then meets Nadin (Genevieve Bujold) and is taken to a group of young revolutionaries whose assessment of the situation in Spain is different and alien; he returns to the flat to learn that an old revolutionary, Ramon, has died. Diego's vision of the funeral is projected on to the screen. The extract ends as he leaves for Barcelona on a mission.

#### EXTRACTS IN PREPARATION

*Pierrot le fou*, J.-L. Godard  
*Double Indemnity*, Billy Wilder  
*Early Spring*, Yasujiro Ozu.

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# 16 mm Distributors

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There is no particular reason why the first of a series of brief surveys of 16 mm distribution libraries should look at ETV but it is an interesting, useful and not too well-known library and a few words about it on the twentieth anniversary of Plato Films, from which ETV grew, seem appropriate.

Despite the anniversary ETV's is not a conventional success story. The 16 mm library makes little or no money but was not set up to do so. With various donations, including money left by George Bernard Shaw to British-Soviet Friendship Houses Ltd, ETV was established for political and cultural reasons, to provide a distribution system for a wide range of film material from the people's democracies. The 16 mm library just about keeps itself afloat but the operation is subsidized by the sale, mostly to television, of archive material, a fair amount of it from the 1930s, much of it unique.

The briefest look at ETV's catalogues (one for Documentary, another for Feature, Cartoon and Puppet Films) indicates the library's orientation. Almost all the material is from the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Cuba. This gives the wrong impression in the sense that the library would equally like to distribute radical films from Western Europe and America, and would do so if it could afford print costs, but it gives the right impression in that the founder-manager, Stanley Forman, has been a committed left-wing socialist since the 1930s. Forman recalls an exhibition about the Spanish Civil War at which films were shown round the clock. He wants his own films 'to do something useful . . . to extend people's horizons'. He feels that when he began he overestimated what film could achieve but he still feels that it can and should do something. Some films, he says — and typically he mentioned a film (Santiago Alvarez's *Now*) he does not distribute himself — can change something, make people think again. He summarizes his effort over twenty years as 'a spit in the ocean . . . but in the right direction'.

As one would expect, Forman does not see his function as primarily one of disseminating the art of the film. The educational hirers who constitute three-quarters of the total are interested mainly in documentary material suitable for use in teaching geography, social studies, history. For those socialist countries which do not operate their own ambassadorial libraries, as Poland does, ETV is the only major source of this kind of material. The increasing use of ETV by university departments reflects the growth in the library of an important collection of historical Soviet material, much of it on Lenin.

ETV's documentary material has little trouble finding an educational market but the same is not true of its feature material since, almost alone among distributors, ETV has no commercial showcase in which to bring its material, especially its new material, to public notice. Classic Soviet material (some of it shared with other distributors) like *Potemkin*, *Storm over Asia* or Donskoi's Gorky trilogy apart, ETV's features are not too well known but the fact that most of them have been considered uncommercial by other distributors is an indication less of quality than of fashion and the vagaries of the commercial distribution system. Of great interest in the catalogue are less famous Soviet features like Romm's *Lenin in October* and *Lenin in 1918*, both of them important for an understanding of Soviet cinema in the 1930s, and Donskoi's *Village Teacher*, *A Mother's Loyalty* and his remake of *Mother*. A recent major addition is *Three Songs of Lenin*, one of Dziga Vertov's best films. Elsewhere the catalogue includes some valuable Cuban material, including Santiago Alvarez's *79 Springs*, and a lot of good Czechoslovak features, many of which have been very favourably received outside Britain (for example, Bocan's *No Laughing Matter*, Papousek's *The Best Age*, Brynych's *The Fifth Rider is Fear* and *Transport from Paradise*). A major coup for ETV was their acquisition of three features by Ewald Schorm: *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, *Saddled with Five Girls* and *Pastor's End*. Schorm, ignored by commercial distributors, may turn out to be the most important of the new Czechoslovak directors and *Saddled with Five Girls* may prove to be the best film to emerge from the Czechoslovak cinema in the 1960s.

Catalogues from: ETV, 2 Doughty Street, London WC1N 2PJ.

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## 16 mm News

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An important 16 mm event in 1969-70 was the addition of some major movies made by John Ford for 20th Century Fox — *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Steamboat Round the Bend*, *Young Mr Lincoln*, *The Prisoner of Shark Island* and *Tobacco Road* — as well as Jean Renoir's *Swamp Water*. (Following the break-up of the Warner-Pathé library in September 1970, all these films are now distributed by Rank.)

Now in 1970-71, FDA have acquired an important batch of Warner Brothers films from the 1930s and 1940s. Some of them have never been available on 16 mm before and taken as a collection they fill some great historical gaps. Among the films are works by directors like Walsh and Huston, but they are chiefly important in filling gaps in genre study material. The gangster film is particularly well represented with films like *Little Caesar* (Leroy, 1930), *Public Enemy* (Wellman, 1931), *Bullets or Ballots* (Keighley, 1936), *High Sierra* (Walsh, 1941), *The Roaring Twenties* (Walsh, 1939) and *White Heat* (Walsh, 1949). In a related genre, the *film noir*, there are significant examples like *Dark Passage* (Daves, 1947), *The Maltese Falcon* (Huston, 1941), *Across the Pacific* (Huston, 1942), *Casablanca* (Curtiz, 1943) and *The Mask of Dimitrios* (Negulesco, 1944). Study examples on the musical have always been limited by a shortage of examples of Busby Berkeley's work but FDA now offer *Dames* (Enright and Berkeley, 1934), *42nd Street* (Bacon and Berkeley, 1933) and *Gold Diggers of 1933* (Leroy and Berkeley, 1933).

A number of generally recognized 'classics' also become available again: *The Treasure of Sierra Madre* (Huston, 1948), *Sergeant York* (Hawks, 1941), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Dieterle and Reinhardt, 1935) and *Arsenic and Old Lace* (Capra, 1944).

Others in the batch include: *The Beast with Five Fingers* (Florey, 1946), *Dr Ehrlich's Magic Bullet* (Dieterle, 1940), *Doctor X* (Curtiz, 1932), *The Petrified Forest* (Mayo, 1936), *Dawn Patrol* (Goulding, 1938), *The Sea Hawk* (Curtiz, 1940), *The Walking Dead* (Curtiz, 1936) and *The Verdict* (Siegel, 1946).



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# SEFT/Ilea Film Teaching Experiment

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The difficulties of establishing film teaching in schools are well documented. Individual teachers have for many years overcome their particular practical problems in a variety of familiar ways: using free loan films, depending on film society films, integrating film study into thematic English teaching or Sixth Form General Studies. Such, however, was the isolation of film teachers, that each had to work out his own salvation — often at the expense of a film teacher elsewhere who was perhaps a day later in booking the single distribution copy of any of the British Film Institute's study extracts.

The Inner London Education Authority had for many years included some film study material in its film library and was anxious to develop film teaching more systematically within its Secondary Schools. An experiment was therefore set up jointly by SEFT and the Authority's Aural and Visual Aids Inspectorate in order to examine ways of introducing film teaching into schools that were both practicable and educationally valuable. As it was felt that the experiment might prove extremely popular, it was limited to Secondary Schools in one of the Authority's divisions. Eventually, eight schools, encompassing about 150 children took part. Most schools were non-selective, though two were voluntary aided grammar schools.

The groups that took part were mainly in their fourth year and most of them were potential early school leavers. The ability level of the children was, however, very wide, some being in remedial classes, others in 'O' Level groups. It was essential that the groups were teaching units so that most of the experiment could take place within the children's timetable and familiar classroom conditions.

Although some of the schools that took part already had an established interest in film teaching, none of the teachers whose groups attended had any previous film teaching experience. Some were English teachers, but remedial and social studies teachers were represented. Most became involved because of a personal interest in film and a desire to pass on this enthusiasm to pupils for whom they were responsible.

The aims of the course may be summarized as follows:

1. To provide a course in which the children might become involved because it would have as its starting point exactly those films that children would choose to see at the local cinema.



2. To provide for teachers who were enthusiastic about film teaching but who had little formal knowledge of the cinema, sufficient support materials to enable them to make a start.
3. To provide facilities for a central viewing of feature films so that the greatest cost factor in screen education — film hire for small groups — could be overcome.
4. To examine the practicability of such centrally provided courses with a view to possible extension of the service in the ILEA.

The one-term course consisted of four two-week units, each based around a feature demonstrating a particular cinematic genre. The pattern of sessions would be:

1. Previewing and discussion of feature by teachers at British Film Institute.
2. Central screening of feature for groups of pupils and their teachers at private cinema.
3. Follow-up to feature in schools using sets of slides, duplicated materials, etc.
4. Previewing and selection of extracts by teachers at British Film Institute.
5. Viewing of extracts in individual schools.
6. Follow-up to extracts in schools.

The material was selected and prepared by the SEFT Teacher Adviser.

The features chosen were *The Brides of Dracula*, *Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush* and *The Bravados* as representative of Horror, Comedy and Western genres respectively, and *Bonnie and Clyde* as a genre film that was also stylistically interesting.

It was originally intended that screenings should be centralized at a school or college within Division 1 which had particularly good projection facilities. Unfortunately, at the last minute this proved impossible and a private cinema had to be used. It was felt that an essential prerequisite of the course was that the features should be viewed in as near ideal conditions as possible.

Each film was introduced briefly and set into its genre context, but most discussion was left to the individual teacher to undertake subsequently in school.

### Follow-up to Features

Material made available to teachers for use in their own schools included extracts, duplicated sheets and slides. The two last were available throughout a particular fortnight and individual teachers could use these or not as they chose. Several sets of slides and copies of sets were available. For example, for the Horror Film, there were three sets

covering 'Origins of the Horror Film', 'Staples of Horror', 'Variations on the Horror Theme'.

The slides were largely made from stills available in the National Film Archive and were accompanied by detailed notes for the teacher.

The duplicated materials were prepared in sufficient quantities to be issued to individual children. These consisted firstly of conflicting reviews of the feature — taken from the more popular newspapers and therefore directly comparable with reviews about current films that the child could have access to in his family's daily paper. Other material included copies of distributors' press-handouts, copies of articles on, say, Hammer Films from the press and short pieces from books on the cinema, on for example the Ealing tradition.

Sufficient extracts were available to enable each school participating to have at least one for the whole of the second week of each unit. In addition, one of the aims of limiting the experiment to one ILEA division was to enable teachers to swap extracts between their schools. After the previewing of extracts, teachers selected those that they felt most appropriate to their approach or which they felt they could handle sympathetically. Documentation was available with the extracts.

### Reactions from the schools

Since most of the teachers involved were self-confessed novices in screen education, they inevitably felt that they would be better film teachers 'next time' and tended to be dissatisfied with their initial performance. However, all were enthusiastic about the interest the film course had aroused amongst their children and the general request was that in any subsequent course there should be opportunity for the teachers to meet for longer periods to discuss the potentialities of film and materials. In addition several requested that the introduction to the films should be more substantial and should involve giving the children some insight into film-making.

All teachers reported a general enthusiasm from their pupils. However, on visiting the schools, it was clear that a great variety of approaches was being tried out, depending on how much time in school could be devoted to the film course and which subject umbrella the teacher taught under.

Where time was short and most work took the form of discussion, there was naturally less involvement of the children than in schools where a teacher had a general responsibility for a group of leavers and was able to develop written work, painting, etc, as part of the course.

Most teachers seemed to measure the success of the project by the children's ability to articulate their responses to the films. In many cases

this meant that children developed an ability to see films in a more objective manner than they had done previously.

What was also stressed was the social value for what might be regarded as the 'underprivileged' children. The fact that this course was aimed at early leavers and less able children and that they were the ones to go on a special course often helped to give some prestige to groups of children who tended to see themselves, however inaccurately, as the poor relations.

## Recommendations

1. To meet the request of the teachers for more guidance for themselves and to enable them to play a greater part in the construction of any future course, I would recommend that a complete short course be run for teachers in say the Autumn Term, and that part of this course be to plan the course that the children will participate in during either the Spring or Summer Term. This teachers' course could also select and prepare the teaching materials.
2. The feasibility of this kind of project where children have to come together for central screenings is undoubtedly proven. Provided that there is a well-equipped cinema in an ILEA school or college in each division, this kind of course can be mounted very cheaply, as hire costs for films can be shared and there would be no charge for the premises.
3. The greatest single problem is the availability of extract material, since effectively only one distribution copy of each is available from the BFI. I would recommend that the ILEA cooperate with the BFI Education Department in approaching distributors and that the Authority build up a collection of extracts in its own film library. The BFI could provide the experts to select specific material for extracting, with the teachers' courses, both suggesting the kind of films to be examined for extracts and subsequently experimenting with ways in which extracts could be used.
4. There are a number of established film teachers already known to the ILEA Aural and Visual Aids Inspectorate who could be called upon to act as organizers for any future experiment. If the teachers' courses were organized on a workshop basis so that the formal lectures were limited, the absence of experienced course organizers would not be important. Certainly those teachers who took part in this Experiment would have a role to play here.

Terry Bolas

APPENDIX I  
SCHOOLS TAKING PART

	Numbers	Year
Chelsea Secondary School ... ..	20 boys	IV
Christopher Wren Secondary School ...	8 boys	IV
Convent of the Sacred Heart High School	20 girls	Lower VI
Holland Park School ... ..	10 boys	IV
Holland Park School ... ..	10 girls	IV
Isaac Newton School ... ..	25 boys	IV
London Oratory School ... ..	18 boys	IV
St Thomas More R.C. Secondary School	14 boys	V
Sion Manning ... ..	19 girls	IV

APPENDIX II  
COURSE TIMETABLE

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
HORROR 20-24 April					<i>The Brides of Dracula</i>
HORROR 29 April-1 May		<i>The Brides of Dracula</i>			Extracts on Horror
HORROR/ COMEDY 4-8 May		<i>Tomb of Ligeia — Peeping Tom — Frankenstein — King Kong — Dracula — From Russia with Love</i>			<i>Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush</i>
COMEDY 11-15 May		<i>Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush</i>			Extracts on Comedy
COMEDY 18-22 May		<i>Nothing But The Best — What's New Pussycat? — The Lady Killers — Lavender Hill Mob — Very Important Person — Kind Hearts &amp; Coronets</i>			

THE WESTERN 25-29 May	HALF TERM	<i>The Bravados</i>
THE WESTERN 1-5 June	<i>The Bravados</i>	Extracts on Western
WESTERN/ DIRECTORS 8-12 June	<i>The Big Sky — My Darling Clementine — Two Rode Together — Gunfighter — Cowboy — Man from Laramie — Stage Coach Driver and The Girl — The Great Train Robbery</i>	<i>Bonnie and Clyde</i>
DIRECTORS 15-19 June	<i>Bonnie and Clyde</i>	Directors Extracts
DIRECTORS 22-26 June	<i>The Miracle Worker (two copies) — Great Expectations — The Criminal — Seventh Seal — Some Like It Hot — Lotna</i>	